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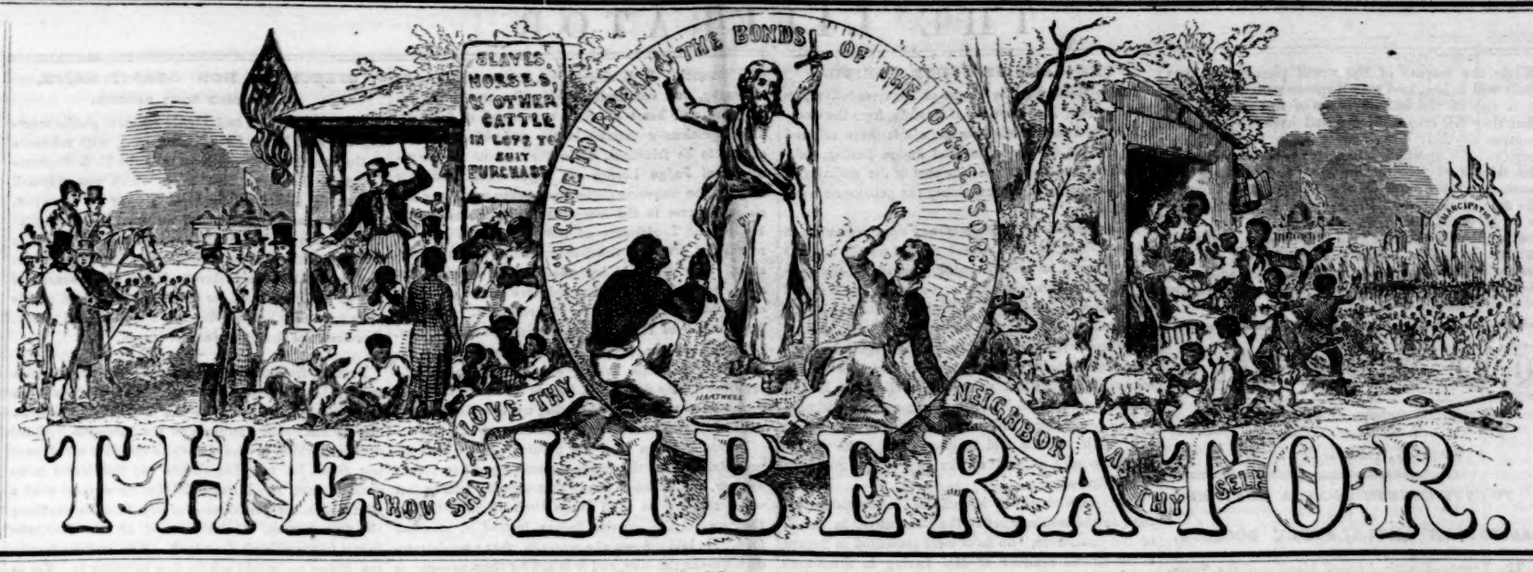

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. **Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.** **J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.**

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SLAVERY A SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND MORAL BLESSING.

'There was a time when not a few of the wisest and best men in Virginia concurred in the opinion that negro slavery was an evil, and an incubus upon the interests of the State, when, perhaps, if possible, some immediate means of emancipation would have been eagerly embraced by some of the ablest spirits in our councils. And it may be, indeed, that the opposite extreme of public sentiment on the subject, which now prevails with every class and craft of our people, is attributable more to the investigations and disquisitions induced by the doubts and fears of that day, than to every other case combined. The institution of slavery soon sunk deep into our social system: once embraced and incorporated among the elements of our organization, its influence, for good or for evil, extended rapidly in every direction, coloring everything it touched, and carrying weal or woe wherever it went, its agencies either immediately or mediately ramified through every branch and principle of legislation; every vein and artery in the body politic were imbued with it. And being deemed an evil in the abstract, by these honest and able, but misguided men, to whom we have alluded — [he refers to every great man Virginia ever produced] — it devolved upon them only to prove their premises, and the catalogue of incidental evils would have been incalculable when an end so desirable would have readily suggested means; and, on the other hand, it became incumbent on the opposing contemporaries to disprove their theories, explode their fals philosophy, and disabuse the public mind of the emancipation taint with which it was beginning to be affected, or to give up their ground and enter into a crusade against the sins and iniquities, the demoralizing and impoverishing effects of the institution of slavery. Investigation on both sides ensued, and the result is that negro slavery is now considered to the Southern States, not a mildew, a blight and a scourge, but a social, political and moral blessing — a special boon of Providence — both to the African and Anglo-Saxon races.'—*Richmond Enquirer.*

'With Virginia, domestic slavery is not a question of expediency. She goes down deeper into the argument than that. She has addressed herself to the institution on much higher grounds. She believes slavery to be a social, moral, political and intellectual blessing to the inferior race. She believes it to be the position which Providence designed the negro to occupy. She has watched the workings of free society, and found it the fruitful source of murder, theft, debauchery and infidelity. She is, therefore, content to remain with slavery a long time yet. All of her traditional influence and renown, all of her glorious memories, and all of her bright hopes are inseparably interwoven with that humane and heaven-directed institution.'— *South Side (Va.) Democrat.*

PRO-SLAVERY CATHOLICISM.

The Boston *Pilot*, in its issue of the 4th inst., closes an article on the United States Judiciary as follows:—

'It is impossible, within our necessarily restricted space, to do full justice to the importance of the national judiciary as an institution, and we shall be satisfied if we have, even to a slight degree, shown its claims to the confidence of the country, by the very nature of its organization, now that it is so atrociously assailed by so large a portion of the press in the free States. The attacks would, indeed, be amazing, if the fanatics upon the subject of slavery had not long since exhausted our capacity of being amazed, by their measureless abuse of everything which bears against their blind opinions and disloyal designs. We leave them to their 'Anti-slavery Constitution and Anti-slavery Bible,' which one of their chief spokesmen said they must have in order to accomplish their purposes. Our object is simply to guard our readers against their Disunion teachings and one-sided construction of the existing Constitution.'

WHO ARE OUR NEIGHBORS.

The Pro-slavery gospel is thus illustrated by the Washington *Union*, grand organ of the Administration:—

'Who are those neighbors we are commanded to love as ourselves? Is it those who partake in our blood and lineage, in whose welfare and prosperity we are joint-partners, who equally contribute their treasure to the support and their blood to the defence of the State, and who are in the daily exchange of benefits with us? Or is it the African slave, who is not our neighbor in any one sense of the word as applied to the great commandment?'

What Christianity! what Democracy!

VIRGINIA TAKING THE ALARM.

Just as we expected. Gov. Wise has heard of Mr. Thayer's project for colonizing Virginia with free laborers, and his organs have sounded the alarm. The Richmond *Enquirer* speaks:—

'If Dinwiddie, Accomac and Southampton are the selected localities of Mr. Eli Thayer, "pioneer in the Northern Kansas Emigrant Aid movement," he is surely determined to beard the lion in his den. It needs no appeal to the people of those gallant counties, to prepare them for his reception. But we have no apprehension that the people of Virginia will be subjected to any such disagreeable duty as to have to buy up cargoes of tar and denude all the geese in the State to decorate the persons of their threatened visitants from the Yankeedom. They have doubtless concocted the plot, but they have not the boldness to attempt execution. Northern men, who come among us with honest intentions and locate quietly, are always welcomed with the right hand of fellowship. There are many such, and they would not be backward in lending their aid to the ignominious expulsion of a horde of underground railroad agents and abolition incendiaries.'

The Richmond *Whig* is also incredulous, but equally pointed:—

'As it will probably gratify the curiosity of our readers, we spread before them in conspicuous position to-day, the grand scheme of the Hon. Eli Thayer and the New York *Herald*, for Colonizing and Abolitionizing Virginia by the introduction among us of a horde of Northern Yankees. It is an amusing project at present, but if it should be attempted to be carried out — which it never will — it may become decidedly tragical. At all events, we are ready to wager a fine suit of black, that the notorious Thayer never sets foot upon our soil himself for any such purpose. If he should, we expect to meet him at Phillippi.'

The new paper of Mr. Pryor, *The South*, treats the matter in a similar strain, and it is evident that the North American Homestead Company must seek another field for their operations.

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Herald.

LETTER FROM HON. ELI THAYER.

WORCESTER, Mass., March 12.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your lucid and able analysis of the plans and purposes of the North American Homestead Company, as given in the *Herald* of February 28th and March 10th.

You have shown a true conception of the project, and it seems to me an accurate appreciation of its power and probable results.

I assure you it is our purpose to be strictly a business organization.

We shall abide by the laws, State and national.

We shall adhere with wonderful tenacity to the Constitution and the Union.

We shall purchase large tracts of land at Slave State prices; shall give way to actual settlers about one-fourth; shall sell about one-fourth at cost, and the remainder at free State prices — thus probably doubling our money on the speculation.

There is no chance for such speculation except in slave States, and even in them only in proportion to the extent of slavery. For example: There will be no inducement for us to buy land in Hancock, Brooks, Marshall or Ohio counties, in Western Virginia, for in those counties it is worth from $20 to $27 per acre. Those counties, and the bulk of the others in Western Virginia, are essentially free. Our chances would be much better in Dinwiddle, Southampton, Accomac, and other exhausted eastern counties, where we can obtain land from $3 to $5 per acre — such being the average price in those localities where the slaves are a majority of the population. Now these lands are more desirable than those of the counties first named, and by placing on them free white colonies, we can make them more valuable. It is too much, therefore, for our Virginia neighbors to expect of human nature — and especially of Yankee human nature — that we should forego any such chance as this of securing sure and ample dividends, especially when this can be done in a manner perfectly legal and constitutional.

But very many of the people of Virginia actually desire the proposed friendly invasion of the Old Dominion by this renovating army of free white labor. I can show you that even slaveholders are on our side, and that, too, in large numbers.

Some have already offered to take stock to the extent of their ability in the proposed company. Kentucky and Maryland are already looking with envy on the sublime destiny of Virginia, and are inviting the same invigorating agency of free labor to their own borders.

Missouri, also, has sent a delegation for the purpose of securing a colony of one hundred Yankees to build a town upon a good landing on the Missouri river. These applications, together with the tone of a large portion of the Southern press, make it manifest that the proposed movement will be admirably sustained, and our colonists treated with kindness and respect. But if, on the contrary, a portion of the people of Virginia, in defiance of their own interests and of our rights, should so far stultify themselves as to follow the lead of ultra disunionists and secession fire-eaters in committing outrages against the lives and property of peaceful settlers, then they must be met by the Constitution and the laws; and should these fail to give protection, popular sovereignty must be invoked for the Old Dominion, as it has been for Kansas. We shall not be intimidated. We are not that kind of people when good dividends are at stake. In defiance of danger, we send our whale ships to the Northern Ocean for money. We send our missionaries among cannibals for principle. We have defied all perils even in sending the Gospel to the heathen, without the incitement, of pecuniary gain; but with that inducement, the Gospel of Freedom 'will have free course to run and be glorified.'

We have been charged with participating in the Slave Trade, contrary to law, for 'filthy lucre.'— If this be so, we should probably participate in making Slave States free for the same 'filthy lucre.'

There is not a kidnapper in the country who will not quit his business of catching negroes in Africa for the Cuba market, when it shall have been demonstrated that he can make ten per cent. more in making Virginia a free State.

The men are no such bigots in their profession as to adhere to it when a lucrative business, protected by law, can be had in exchange for a hazardous, illegal and less profitable traffic.

There is no use, then, in talking about hanging or shooting our colonists, or the members of our company. If half of us were hung or shot, the rest would press on towards the shining dollars, even though they should rush

'Into the jaws of death,
Into the mouth of hell,
Like the "six hundred."'

Evidence of approaching success in the enterprise is every day accumulating. It is seen in the letters of sympathy from the slave States, and in the numerous applications of colonists from the free, and, more than all, in the readiness of capitalists to invest in the stock of the company. This, however, is not unaccountable. Millions of acres of Virginia land, owned by the merchants and brokers of New York and Philadelphia, will be made available, at a profit to the present owners, who have heretofore despaired of selling it at any price. Our company will, therefore, prove a very valuable medium between those landholders and the hardy pioneers, who can thus be furnished with homesteads on easy terms. This is too good a thing to fail.

Truly yours, ELI THAYER.

From the New York Evening Post.

REV. DR. DEWEY AND THE SOUTH.

Sometime ago, the Rev. Dr. Dewey ventured, in an address at Sheffield, to rebuke the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He certainly did it very carefully; and, if our recollection be correct, he hardly said more, nor was what he did say uttered more strongly, than what has been advanced even by public men of the South upon the same subject. Dr. Dewey, so far as anti-slavery discussions were concerned, has always been regarded as the most cautious and prudent of men. When a great excitement arose upon the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, he apologized in his lectures before Lyceums for that barbarous enactment. We do not intend here to question his sincerity, nor even his wisdom in doing so. He may have been deceived, and he may have been frightened out of all philosophy and out of all genuine philanthropy. We do not propose to say whether in our opinion he was in the right or in the wrong; but we do declare that there had been nothing in his course, nothing in his doctrines, nothing in his public ministrations, which should not have led the most bigoted slaveholder to regard his remonstrances with the utmost respect. But the manner in which Dr. Dewey's address was received, afforded another and an uniquely curious instance of the lunacy of men who are desperate in the defence of a bad cause. No sooner was the Doctor's oration sent from the press, than a ready writer in Charleston was commissioned to assault him. The method of the attack was extremely characteristic. The Doctor had visited Charleston; he had partaken of Charleston dinners; he had lectured to Charleston audiences; and, by reason of the dinners and of the lectures, he should have considered himself forever debarred from saying anything about — the repeal of the Missouri Compromise! Taking it for granted that any man who has been at the South (without being lynched) has no business to emit anything concerning slavery, this ready writer has felt it to be his duty to charge Dr. Dewey with most of the crimes recognized by the code of religion or by that of politeness. A controversy has ensued, which Dr. Dewey, on his part, concludes in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Evening Post.*

It is curious to notice how in this communication Dr. Dewey still endeavors to preserve the middle ground, which has been the chosen stand-point of men of his class, while the whole tone of his epistle shows that he is laboring under a violent suspicion that slavery, after all, is not a thing to be tolerated. The passages in which he denounces the system afford new and welcome specimens of his grave and sonorous eloquence. His Charleston assailant has, at least, succeeded in diminishing, if not in demolishing Dr. Dewey's respect for the Fugitive Slave Law. He says nothing now of sending his relatives (whether mother or brother) back to slavery. On the other hand, he says: 'I would run away, if I were a slave — you would — every man would.' He cannot understand how any one can pronounce slavery 'a right, just, beautiful and admirable thing.' To be sure, this is rather timid; it comes nearly a quarter of a century after the silver teachings of Channing and the heroic testimony of Follen; but we accept it with thankfulness, and with a renewed hope. We have driven the slaveholder, upon this very point of slavery extension, into the dilemma of declaring slavery to be either 'right, just and beautiful,' or wrong, inequitable and hideous. In doing so, we have compelled gentlemen like Dr. Dewey to look at the matter from a new point; and with the rapidly accumulating results of our labor, we must confess ourselves to be perfectly satisfied. Our antagonists have been obliged to acknowledge that the institution so far from being 'intrinsically, essentially and everlastingly right,' is morally, politically and economically just the opposite. So much for the most important consideration. A minor one, to which we may be permitted to allude, is that the exceedingly rude way in which Dr. Dewey has been treated seems to dissipate, decidedly, the conventional notion of Southern chivalry.

EFFECTS OF THE LATE DECISION.

Commenting upon the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, the New York *Tribune* says:—

The inference is plain. If slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution, of course no local or State law can either prevent property being carried through an individual State or Territory, or forbid its being held as such wherever its owner may choose to hold it. This is all involved in the present decision; but let a single case draw from the Court an official judgment, that slaves can be held and protected under national law, and we shall see men buying slaves for the New York market. There will be no legal power to prevent it. At this moment, indeed, any wealthy New York jobber connected with the Southern trade can put in his next orders: 'Send me a negro cook, at the lowest market value! Buy me a waiter!—Balance my account with two chambermaids and a truckman!" Excepting the interference of the 'underground railroad' and the chance of loss, there will be nothing to stop this. But then, these underhanded efforts for stealing property must, of course, be checked by our police. Mr. Matsell will have no more right to allow gentlemen's servants to be spirited away by burglarious Abolitionists than gentlemen's spoons. They are property under even stronger pledges of security than mere lifeless chattels. The whole power of the State — the military, the Courts and Governor of the State of New York — will necessarily be sworn to protect each New York slaveowner from the robbery or burglary of his negro.— If they are not sufficient, why then the United States Army and Navy can be called on to guard that singular species of property which alone of all property the Constitution of the United States has especially recognized. Slaves can be kept in Boston; Mr. Toombs can call the roll of his chattels on the slope of Bunker Hill; auctions of black men may be held in front of Faneuil Hall, and the slave-ship, protected by the guns of United States frigates, may land its dusky cargo at Plymouth Rock. The free hills of Vermont, the lakes of Maine, the Valleys of Connecticut, the city where the ancient Oak of Liberty has wisely fallen, may be traversed by the gangs of the negro-driver, and enriched by the legitimate commerce of the slave-pen. Are we told that public opinion will prevent this? What can public opinion do against the Supreme Court and all the power of the United States? Shall not a citizen of this Union have the right to take and hold his property, his horses, his oxen, his dogs, his slaves, wherever it seems to him good? According to the law now established, the Free State men of Kansas are robbers, for they attack the Constitutional and inalienable rights of property. The bogus laws of which they presume to complain, but which the mild and paternal punishment of death is now to protect from infraction, are just and necessary laws for the safety of those sacred rights. The number of Free Soil men in that Territory can make no difference hereafter, as it has made none hitherto. Slavery is there, as the ownership of horses or land is there, by supreme national law. Of what use, then, to contend for such a shadow as the difference between a free and a slave Constitution? Or what sense in that old fiction of State Rights? The States have no rights as respects freedom; their rights consist only in establishing and strengthening slavery — nothing more.

Another most pregnant change is wrought by this decision, in respect of the Northern people. We have been accustomed to regard slavery as a local matter, for which we were in no wise responsible. As we have been used to say, it belonged to the Southern States alone, and they must answer for it before the world. We can say this no more. Now, wherever the stars and stripes wave, they protect slavery and represent slavery. The black and cursed stain is thick on our hands also. From Maine to the Pacific, over all future conquests and annexations, wherever in the islands of western seas, or in the South American Continent, or in the Mexican Gulf, the flag of the Union, by just means or unjust, shall be planted, there it plants the curse, and tears, and blood, and unpaid toil of this 'institution.'— The star of freedom and the stripes of bondage are henceforth one. American Republicanism and American Slavery are for the future synonymous. This, then, is the final fruit. In this, all the labors of our statesmen, the blood of our heroes, the life-long cares and toils of our forefathers, the aspirations of our scholars, the prayers of good men, have finally ended! America, the slave-breeder and slaveholder!

THE DRED SCOTT CASE IN THE OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Report of the Standing Committees on Federal Relations, to whom were referred the resolution of Mr. Kelley, of Franklin, and various petitions relative to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case:

Your committee submit, that so far as they are able to comprehend the force and effect of said decision, it, among other things, nationalizes Slavery; annihilates the heretofore conceded right of the free States to inhibit the institution: asserts that there is no power in Congress or the people of the United States, or of the Territories, to exclude slavery; sanctions the monstrous proposition that man can hold property in man; shuts the courts of justice to hundreds of thousands of native-born citizens; assumes that the black man has no civil rights; and dooms every foot of soil to the curse of Slavery, and that irrevocably.

Your committee assert that this case has no parallel in wickedness in the history of the world. Verres was content to lay waste a few insignificant provinces; this decision deals with a nation, yea, an entire race,

It imbrutes and dehumanizes the race, and with a sublime touch of Vandalism, it ruthlessly strips human beings of rights God-given, and hands them over to be devoured by human beasts of prey.

Such is now declared, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, to be the mission of the Constitution of the United States.

If so, better far that it had never been written. This decision, however, is contrary to all preconceived notions of that instrument.

The union of States under the federal compact has heretofore been regarded as a combination of so many independent sovereignties for fixed purposes and definite objects. States, upon entering the confederation, were not supposed to have surrendered any of their legal rights as independent governments.

These they cautiously reserved. They delegated to the General Government certain powers believed to be in harmony with their reservations. The object to be attained was not a strong, overshadowing central government, which should efface State lines and obliterate State institutions, but one which should effectually secure to all these States security from foreign aggressions, immunity from domestic divisions, and protect, foster, cherish and perpetuate civil and religious liberty, and the rights of all mankind. These, as old as the Constitution, are all in detail dissipated by said decision.

It becomes us then, as citizens of Ohio, calmly yet firmly to take our position, and abide the consequences.

If we ride out the storm, well; if we go down, better thus than tame submission to such consummate wickedness. Three times — once by the ordinance of '87, once by the Constitution of A. D. 1802, and once by our present Constitution — has the territory of our State been forever consecrated to freedom. Now, however, we learn that those instruments were a cheat, a delusion, and a mere rope of sand.

We learn that our own Ohio, instead of being in fact a free, is in effect a Slave State. The mighty sin against God, and the giant wrong against man, contemplated by that decision, *must not and shall not be consummated in Ohio.*

It attempts to force upon us an institution, hated, loathed and execrated by the whole civilized world, and no portion of the earth with a deeper and more abiding detestation and abhorrence than by the people of our State.

The men and women of Ohio regard Slavery with a loathing which no words yet coined will express. This accursed institution may be planted upon soil, and interwoven with our institutions, but not until every valley, every plain and every hill-side is reddened with the blood and whitened with the bones of our sons, brothers, husbands and fathers.

Sternly to the South and their Northern abettors, we say in all kindness, that it will take more than one decision fulminated by a Jesuitical Catholic Judge, to conquer a free Protestant people. We may be deprived of the ability and power to prevent the clanking of the bondsmen's chains around our altars, our houses and our fires; but, thank God, no human power can prevent our dying in the attempt. We may be unable to protect thousands of our own citizens in the enjoyment of their civil rights, but long, fierce, and desperate will be the struggle before we yield the point. We have now seen every department of the General Government subsidized to the support, spread, maintenance, and eternization of slavery. In this mad crusade against our dearest, most sacred and most cherished rights, we have interposed our most earnest remonstrance, and uttered our most solemn warning. All unheeded and uncared for have been that remonstrance and that warning.

This decision, if undertaken to be enforced, places us immeasurably beyond that point where forbearance is no longer a virtue. Yea, it is questionable whether it is not even now a crime against both man and God. Endeavor to enforce the decision in our State, and from the blue waters of Lake Erie on the north, to the beautiful Ohio on the south; from the hills of Pennsylvania on the east, to the plains of Indiana on the west, but one voice will be heard echoing and re-echoing the war cry of the Revolution — 'Give us liberty, or give us death!'

As an indication of the purposes of the General Assembly and the people of Ohio, your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, and the passage of the accompanying act:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, 1. That this General Assembly has observed with regret that, in the opinion lately pronounced by Chief Justice Taney, in behalf of a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott against J. F. H. Sandford, occasion has been taken to promulgate, extra judicially, certain doctrines concerning Slavery, not less contradictory to well-known facts of history, than repugnant to the plain provisions of the Constitution, and subversive of the rights of freemen and Free States.

2. That in the judgment of this General Assembly, every person born within the limits of any State of this Union is a citizen thereof; and to deny to any such person the right of suing in the courts of the United States, in the cases where that right is guarantied by the Constitution to all citizens of the United States, is a palpable and unwarrantable violation of that sacred instrument.

3. That the doctrine announced by the Chief Justice, in behalf of a majority of the court, that the Federal Constitution, regards slaves as mere property, and protects the claims of masters to slaves to the same extent and in the same manner as the rights of owners in property, within the limits of Free States, during temporary visits or for purposes of transit, to the practical consequences of which doctrine no Free State can submit with honor.

4. That the doctrine also announced in behalf of a majority of the Court, that there exists no power in the General Government to exclude Slavery from the Territories of the United States, subverts express provisions of the Constitution, annuls the just authority of the people of the United States over their own territories, and contradicts the whole practice of the Government under every administration from that of Washington to that of Polk.

5. That, in the promulgation of the doctrines against which we now protest, we recognize the natural effect of the ascendency of the slave power in the Supreme Court of the United States, secured by that arrangement of the Circuits which gives to the Slave States, with less than one-third of the free population of this Union, five out of nine judges, leaving the free States, with more than two-thirds of the free population, only four; and we hereby instruct the Senators and request the Representatives of Ohio, in the Congress of the United States, to use their best endeavors to obtain such a modification of existing laws as will secure to the Free States their just representation in that tribual.

O. P. BROWN,
H. CANFIELD,
Committee of the Senate.
RALPH PLUMB,
E. GUTHRIE,
J. H. LITTLER,
GEORGE MYGATT,
Committee of the House.

Bill to prevent slaveholding in Ohio.

Sec. 1 Provides that any person attempting to hold another as a slave, directly or indirectly, shall be fined and imprisoned.

Sec. 2 Provides that if any person shall seize or arrest, or use any force or fraud for the purpose of detaining any other person, upon pretence that such person is a fugitive from service, shall be punished by fine and imprisonment.

Sect. 3 Provides that any attempt to kidnap any person with intent to carry out of the State, for the purpose of enslaving him in some other State or jurisdiction, shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary.

Sec. 4 Provides that the provision of the bill shall not apply to any act lawfully done by any marshal in the execution of any legal process.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE IN THE OHIO LEGISLATURE.

The action of the Legislature of this State, in regard to the Dred Scott case, will attract the attention of our readers. The committee speak brave words and true, and their action, in regard to the recently-attempted usurpations of the Supreme Court, is well, so far as it goes; but it falls altogether short of measures necessary to successful resistance. The Supreme Court of the United States having declared our State Constitution, and all our State laws, prohibiting the bringing and holding of slaves within our limits, incompatible with the Federal Constitution, of course this new 'bill to prevent slaveholding in Ohio' is equally inefficient whenever brought, as it inevitably will be, before a Federal Court. What we need is, not more law, but a proper respect and a manly defence of what we now have, and of our State Constitution, which is now torn and trodden in the dust. Until there is a willingness to meet the Usurping Federal Government in conflict, and use extremest means, nothing will be done. We must be willing to abandon old compromises, whether embraced in laws, constitutions, or whatever else. We must repudiate old concessions, and refuse to make new ones. But such is not the character of the bill which the Ohio Legislature proposes in this emergency.

It proposes — 1st, fine and imprisonment as a punishment for any person attempting to hold another as a slave in the State; 2d, It punishes, in like manner, the seizure, arrest and detention of any person on pretence that he is a fugitive slave; 3d, It provides for punishment by confinement in the penitentiary for attempt to kidnap, with intent to enslave in another State. All this is well; it is in accordance with the provision for freedom in the Constitution of Ohio; and the honor of the State and the security of our citizens require that the Constitution should be maintained.

We should be most happy to construe the passage of this law into a determined declaration that it shall be so maintained; but the final provision of the bill gives indubitable evidence that our legislators, after their brave speech and bitter curses of slavery, have not yet done either with concessions or compromises. It is nothing else than a clear and full declaration of their intended continued submission to the abominations of the Fugitive Slave Law — so cursed, and yet obeyed. Their heroism has all vanished in thin air. They will meekly submit to the existence of slavery in the Commonwealth, under the execution of *any legal process in the hands of the United States Marshal.* Such a concession is infamous. It places our boasted State sovereignty under the foot of every legal kidnapper who chooses to exercise it, after the pattern of Archibald K. Gaines. It is a consent to the nullification of the Constitution and laws of Ohio, in favor of the fugitive law of 1850, and a vacating of the executive offices of the State in favor of a kidnapping Commissioner and his minion, the U. S. Marshal. By the passage of this provision of the bill, the Legislature will give this approval voluntarily. It will volunteer this concession when the Slave Power is in the act of striking down all our rights, political and personal. Such is the fruit of our Union with slaveholders, the result of our admission of such monstrous criminals to an equal participation in the national government, under the delusion or the pretence of thereby 'establishing justice and securing the blessings of liberty.' No wonder 'the Committee of One' in the Ohio Senate dodged the discussion of the Disunion question. With the purpose to continue to glorify and save the Union, it could not have been better disposed of. When our legislators become willing to save the slave, instead of the Union, and to protect him in the enjoyment of his personal liberty, we may successfully resist the executive and judicial encroachments of the Slave Power. Until we are thus willing to plant ourselves beside the slave, and join in his contest with the master, Judge Taney's rulings and decisions will be executed as law from Maine to California.

COLORED CITIZENSHIP. Paul Cuffe, the son of a native African, refused in 1771 to pay a Massachusetts collector a personal tax, unless he were allowed to enjoy the whole rights of citizenship. The matter reached the Legislature, and declaration went forth previous to the adoption of the Constitution, securing to 'black men' all the privileges belonging to other citizens, and they have enjoyed them ever since.

WHERE LIES THE GUILT. Rev. Dr. Cheever says: —'If the Church and the ministry had spoken and acted according to the light and power given to them of God for the world's good, then the mountain waves of this iniquity [slavery] had not rolled over us.'

From the New York Independent.

IMMORALITY OF THE DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP ON ACCOUNT OF COLOR.

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

The Supreme Judicial Court has no more power or right to affirm or enact a disability concerning negroes, than it has concerning Chinese, or Dutchmen, or Italians, or Japanese, or Malays. The constitution has no article or phrase, that either by letter or implication brings, or can be construed to bring, any race under its power for oppression, or into question of the right of freedom. The affirmation of such power by the Supreme Court is as groundless and absolute a forgery and lie against humanity and justice, as if they had interpreted, from concession of the power of government over the territories, the right and power to sell and convey to the Cham of Tartary all persons born in said territories with red hair, and all with blue eyes. No language can describe the ineffable iniquity of the assumption that the African race were never thought or spoken of except as property, and had no rights that white men are bound to respect; and the assertion from this assumption that the constitution forbids their being regarded as citizens. The reasoning itself is piracy, and lays the judge open to impeachment, as a deliberate attempt to subvert a free constitution and destroy the fundamental laws of our republic. The reasoning is worse than the maddest dreams of insanity, and is so palpably and monstrously unjust and false, that it would be fit for nothing but the hootings of ridicule, were it not so terribly and sweepingly malignant. The judge might just as well say that negro barbers shall not be permitted to shave, because the chin is a note of hand, and only legalized brokers can discount it; or that no persons of color shall be licensed, or can be constitutionally permitted, to cut hair, because the hair is a poll-tax, and only revenue officers can collect it. There are no antics of mad reasoning so outrageous which the judges may not play, if such dregs of wicked argument as they have thrown before the people be suffered to stand as judgment. As to the argument of darkness, the argument that out of so great darkness as was prevailing in the world when the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, there could not have arisen so great a light as that of benevolence and justice to all men, irrespective of color, and therefore we must interpret what *seems* light in that Declaration as darkness, and what seems liberty as only the license of tyranny over others, and what seems large-hearted humanity as only the rule of caste and oppression, there is no recorded freak or quirk of legal or judicial depraved and monstrous cunning and imposture, that will bear any comparison with it. The Manhattan Gas Company might just as well say that it is not constitutional to use sunlight in the day-time, but that the Divine Providence having brought about the manufacture of gas, and instituted their corporation, it is plain that sunlight is unconstitutional, especially for negroes, and the idea that it ever was constitutional could not possibly have been broached in a period of such great darkness as prevailed before the institution of gas; and now that Divine Providence has given us gaslight, it is plain that all investigations in regard to slavery especially, and all decisions concerning it, should be pursued only in that light. Certainly, the decision of the judges is an escape of gas, instead of light, and insufferably offensive, poisoning the whole atmosphere; and if lighted, only serving to make darkness visible, regions of horror, tenanted by dusky, doleful shades, pursued with whips and chains, and constitutionally abandoned and imprisoned, void of all sympathy and right, where hope never comes that comes to all.

The constitution does not confer citizenship, and cannot take it away. Every human being, born within the United States, is born a citizen, and only local state law, or exceptions well known, as in regard to Indians, can put any disability upon him. And whether he were descended from Shem, Ham, or Japhet, whether from Ishmael or Isaac, whether he were born blue or fiery red, or yellow, or black and blue, or green and gold, or spotted like a leopard, or stripped like a zebra, what infamous falsehood it would be to assert that any such circumstance deprives him of his citizenship! It never entered the heads of the authors of our Declaration of Independence, or the framers of our constitution, to imagine, much less the heart to desire, such a thing. It never could have been conceived by them possible, in the joy, the glory, the enthusiasm of a freedom asserted as the equal birthright of all mankind from the Creator, that human beings, in the shape of judges on the bench, would ever be found in our country so degraded, so inveterately, viciously, malignantly disposed toward any distressed race in the shape of man, as to be capable of plotting and promulgating such a decision. The conception and the reasoning would be beneath contempt, were it not for the daring immorality projected as law, and were it not likewise for the dreadful fact that Christians can be found to affirm that this iniquity, having become law, is, by virtue of being law, righteous law, and obedience to it a righteous cruelty, a virtuous expediency; so that the enacting of a thing, which yesterday, by the constitution and the divine law, would have been a most atrocious wickedness, becomes to-day, by the decision of half a dozen men, a divine obligation. But the constitution remains the same, and the principles of eternal morality and justice remain the same, and six men cannot change them, nor could the opinions of all the judges in the land make a law for us obligatory against the constitution, or take away or lessen our supreme responsibility to the law of God.

Traitors to God, to their country, and their race are they who counsel obedience to man rather than God; obedience to man, in an article of sweeping, unalloyed, undisputed, and indisputable wickedness. Traitors to God and man are they, who counsel silent submission to what makes them, makes every creature, makes the whole nation, tools of crime, tools of oppression, so infamous, so mean, so wanton, and for purposes of such cringing, pitiable selfishness, that devils with devils damned might be ashamed of it. Obey, rather than God's law, and our constitution as our fathers framed it, the command of the wanton wickedness of half a dozen men, who ought to be impeached for a deliberate attempt to pervert and violate the constitution of our liberties! Obey the opinion, the violent constructions of such men, and proceed silently in such obedience to execute the commanded injustice and oppression, rather than the law of God, and against the law of God, on the pretence that the opinion of the judges also is law, and once being law, must be obeyed as law, God's law to the contrary notwithstanding! We say again that such teachers, preachers, and editors are traitors to their country and their God. If there is any spawn of baseness worthy of contempt, it is that of those men who profess the principles of the Christian religion, but the moment human law commands them to violate its precepts, in order to the shielding and establishment of human slavery, not

tly do this themselves, but teach and require others to do the same, and have pleasure in those who join with them.

We speak for God, not for party; at his command, not man's; for divine truth and justice, not political supremacy. We speak for justice disregarded, mercy trampled on, the law of love despised, truth fallen in the street. We speak for man, for the oppressed, for those drawn unto death, for the dumb in their terrible suffering, for a helpless, persecuted race, and for Christ himself, in them cast out and crucified. We proclaim, as we are commanded, God's judgment against the unrighteous judge and the law of iniquity. God forbids us to submit to that unrighteousness, or to obey that law. God appoints us to do only that which he has given to the people of these United States their sovereignty, to execute truth and justice as the end and object of the nation, and not injustice, oppression, and robbery by law, as the object and end of party usurpation. The outrage is so great, so high-handed, so deliberate, so against all light and even the natural conscience of mankind, so instantly and undeniably in the face of God's judgments against his own people for a similar sin, so full of agonising outcry for God's vengeance, that it seems as if the domes and spires of Sodom did hardly more invite the lightning of heaven's wrath than this decision. And what a solemn attitude now is that of this great people, and what a spectacle before God, angels and men, the course which they will take, God and his truth, humanity, and justice, thus outraged before them, by their own tribunals! Whether they will rouse themselves at God's call, or supinely fold their hands, till by submitting to the judicial destruction of the rights of others, they lose all power, opportunity, and energy to assert their own. A solemn question, indeed, it is, whether there is virtue enough, regard to God enough, experienced power of his word enough, benevolence enough, justice enough, and indignation at outraged justice, to purge off this iniquity, to repel, rebuke, and annihilate this mighty wrong. Was ever the sacred seat of justice so polluted? All the unjust decisions in the whole history of Great Britain are feeble, ineffectual, evanescent, contracted, compared with this, which concentrates such deliberate impiety against both God and man.

Now that this monstrous crime has been, if the people permit it, nationalized, now that it has been judicially baptized with the sacredness of the constitution, as the first-born child of freedom, and so our freedom itself baptized as a pirate, what remains for us but to throw ourselves upon the word of God? Here we stand. This is our last citadel. The blood rushes to the heart; if there be strength enough to send it back with a new life through the system, we are safe. If not, we are lost, and we go down more ingloriously, more basely, than ever any nation under heaven did. The judge has occupied the constitution as a Border Ruffian, with the decision that the African race among us are to be regarded only as property, that they are fit for nothing but slaves, and have no rights that white men are bound to respect. Let now the insulted Christianity of our churches arise in its majesty, and in the name of God condemn and repudiate this dreadful wrong. Let the churches take the position that the claim of property in man is sin, and consequently that no slaveholder, persisting in it, can properly be admitted to the Christian Church. Let God's word be applied. Let the ministry everywhere speak out. If they had done this from the beginning, this tremendous iniquity of judgment never could have been perpetrated. And the ministry *would* have spoken, if the churches had encouraged and permitted it, if conservative Christians had not kept them bound. But they have followed the lead of their people, instead of leading *them*. They have trembled before their people, and when they have ventured a stealthy word of admonition, it has been in such a partial, pitiful, apologizing way, as if they had been stealing sheep instead of feeding them. They have been muzzled by their congregations, and forsooth have asked their congregations how much and what they should say, instead of telling their congregations from God what he commands them, both pastor and people, to think and to do.

There are few positions more despicable, to which men ever reduce themselves, than that of a minister of Christ, appointed to lead and instruct the people, asking *them* to lead *him*, and to give his tongue its marching orders, and promising never to preach anything but just what they please, or what they think important for the pew rents. The minister has mistaken his place, who puts himself behind his people instead of before them, especially when any great conflict between God and the Devil, Christ and the powers of darkness, is coming on. Think of the captain of a company of soldiers, in time of war, retreating from his place, and relinquishing his responsibility and power, at the head of the company, and skulking at the tail, leaving the corporals, the sergeants, and the privates to drill one another and instruct and command him! But this is the degradation to which the surrender of the right of preaching against the iniquity of slavery, and the dread of the miserable hypocritical outcry about politics in the pulpit, and the fear of strife and agitation by the denunciation of sin, have reduced many a pulpit and many a corporation of Christians. What a pitiful, unmanly position of our Young Men's Christian Associations, for example, squabbling among themselves as to the propriety or possibility of even mentioning the morality of slavery as a question for discussion, while the Supreme Court not only agitate it, but exalt slavery as a virtue to the top of the decalogue. How base the submission of Christians to such a rule! Their catechism should read, Thou shalt have no other gods before slavery, and all thy morality shall be cut and squared to meet the convenience of slavery, and all thy discussions shall be only in such a way, and on such points, as shall subserve the interests of slavery. Thou shalt buy and sell thy goods only at the will and pleasure of those who buy and sell slaves, for they are thy masters, and their pleasure is thy God. Thou shalt hold and express thine opinions only as thy slave masters suffer thee. Thou shalt bow down unto them and worship them, and if they command thee to say there is no God but cotton, thou shalt answer and say, Verily, there is no God but cotton.

ANOTHER VIEW OF BUCHANAN'S INAUGURAL.

The London *Daily News* of March 23, uses the following language with reference to Mr. Buchanan's Inaugural address:—

'It is truly a monument of the very highest degree of that kind of courage which is bred between personal self-seeking and political desperation. Mr. Buchanan knows as well as any man who heard him in the Capitol, that his statements will deceive nobody within the limits of his dominions. The Northern men see clearly enough the completeness of his bondage to the South; and the Southern men are not to be beguiled of their fears and their vigilance by his proclamation that "all is calm."

'There is not a man or woman, from the Rio Grande to the Bay of Fundy, who will not pronounce, at the end of the address, that the President has hidden away all the important facts of their case, gone off on false issues, presented deceptive solutions, and rivalled his predecessor in the eagerness which he has, at his first act of command on board the ship of State, thrown over a tub to the ever menacing whale.

* * * *

'Such is the address delivered at the moment when violent hands are tugging at the foundations of the Republic; when sectional hatred exceeds all international prejudices elsewhere; when classes, black and white, numbered by millions, have no rights whatever, and a mere handful of land and man-owners are overbearing the rights of a prodigious majority; and when slaves are escaping by thousands, and are whipped, hanged and burned by scores, under suspicion of intended insurrection, certain to deepen into servile war if the Federal Union is not destroyed by secession on the one hand, or a military despotism on the other. How can a man of sense, a man of political experience, a man of reading, venture on putting forth anything so hollow as this address, aware, as he must be, that not a man in the country will believe it? In the first place, Mr. Buchanan's main object is to make the best of the thing he has attained—the four years' sovereignty which has been his forty years' aim. He carefully intimates, at the outset of his address, that he shall not stand for a second term. His one effort, aim and struggle, then, is to stave off the great inevitable conflict for four years. We do not believe that he can manage this; but he will try for it, and with what audacity we may judge by the production before us. Again, he is but following custom in the insincerity of his speech. While the despots of the world plainly say that their will is law, and may dispense with subterfuge, it is one of the bad liabilities of free governments that they fall into falsehood and hypocrisy, in proportion to their deterioration from their original purity. No spectacle on earth is more painful to the friends of good government, and nowhere is it more mournful than in the United States, under the rule of its recent Presidents. If the Republic is to be saved, the first token of "a good time coming" will be sincerity in high places. At present, all is hollow in the highest degree; and the man who has given to the world such an address as this, is the one who is most sure to take the exposure of it as a matter of course.'

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, APRIL 24, 1857.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will commence in the CITY ASSEMBLY ROOMS, (446 Broadway, between Howard and Grand streets, in the City of New York, on TUESDAY, May 12, at 10 o'clock, A. M. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, T. W. Higginson, Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips are expected to speak at the first session. A collection in aid of the cause will be taken.

The Society will meet at the same place on TUESDAY EVENING, at 7½ o'clock, admittance 10 cts., and again on WEDNESDAY, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., admittance free. The arrangements for public speaking at these sessions are not yet completed, but among those who have been invited to speak are Rev. G. B. Cheever, Rev. I. R. W. Sloane, Rev. W. H. Furness, Rev. Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Robert Purvis, and C. L. Remond.

It is much to be desired that the friends of the Society should come together in large numbers, from all parts of the country, to confer upon the great interests of the cause at this eventful period.

We reiterate our former declaration, that the object of the Society is not *merely* to make 'Liberty national and Slavery sectional'—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba—nor to restore the Missouri Compromise—nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill—nor to make Kansas a free State—nor to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union—nor to terminate Slavery in the District of Columbia and in the National Territories—but it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of slavery, wherever it exists on American soil, and to oppose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is, 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically!'

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President*.

Wendell Phillips, S. H. Gay, } *Secretaries*.

COLORED CITIZENSHIP.

In the Senate of Massachusetts, last week, Hon. O. W. Albee, as Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, to whom the subject of colored citizenship was referred, in connection with the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, made an elaborate report, showing the utter falsity of that decision in respect to the facts of our national history, and the usages of the national government and of the several States. It establishes the fact, that, from the earliest period, free persons of color have been admitted to be citizens of the United States—have been so designated in congressional debates and State resolves—have been addressed as such in proclamations issued by men high in office and station—have been so recognized by the laws of the United States—have received passports as American citizens from the government until within a comparatively recent period—and have been admitted to equal political rights and privileges in various States in the Union. The testimony of Messrs. Lowndes, Niles and Pinckney, as being Southern men, is adduced as of great weight in this question. Gen. Jackson made the fullest and most explicit recognition of colored citizenship; and so did Thomas Jefferson. It has been repeatedly recognized by acts of Congress. Impressed colored seamen have been repeatedly claimed by the national government as citizens of the United States. Chancellor Kent says—"Citizens, under our constitutions and laws, mean free inhabitants, born within the United States, or naturalized, under the laws of Congress. If a slave, born in the United States, be manumitted, or otherwise lawfully discharged from bondage, or if a black man be born within the United States, and born free, he becomes thenceforward a citizen, but under such disabilities as the laws of the States respectively may deem it expedient to prescribe to free persons of color." This report—highly satisfactory as far as it goes—concludes as follows:—

Whereas, the State Department of the United States has of late refused passports to colored citizens of the United States, contrary to the former established usages of said department; and

Whereas, the late decision of the supreme court of the United States in the Dred Scott case has virtually denationalized the colored citizens of Massachusetts; therefore

Your Committee respectfully recommend the passage of the accompanying Act:—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Sect. 1. The Secretary of State is hereby authorized to issue to any citizen of this Commonwealth who may apply for the same, a passport or certificate under the seal of the Commonwealth, setting forth the age, and a general description of the person applying for the same, and that he is a citizen of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and such passport or certificate shall be granted to any citizen whatever his color may be; and may be in any form which the Secretary of State may think expedient.

Massachusetts can do no less than this—but ought she not to do more? Of what avail will such passport or certificate be in a foreign land? This Commonwealth is not an independent republic, and therefore has no power to defend her citizens abroad, however cruelly outraged. What if the U. S. Supreme Court had "virtually denationalized" the *white* citizens of Massachusetts, as it has done the *colored*, would they be content with a State passport? Would they adhere to such a Union, or sustain such a government? Not unless they were ready to be slaves! And are they not solemnly bound to make common cause with their ostracised colored fellow-citizens, and to declare that they will not submit to such a despotism for one moment?

CONCLUSIVE TESTIMONY.

That the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is beyond all defence or palliation is seen in the fact, that Orestes A. Brownson, in his Catholic *Quarterly Review*, denounces it in the following terms:—

'We have no more disposition to interfere with slavery where it legally exists than have our Southern friends, but we do protest against an opinion which places negroes as such not only out of the pale of our Republic, but out of the pale of humanity. If opinion once went that length, it was the business of the Court to brand it with its disapprobation, and not to recognize it as law. The Court should lean to the side of the weak, and set its face against oppression. The negro race is, no doubt, inferior to the white race, but is that a reason why they should be enslaved, or why the Court should join the stronger against the weaker?'

This condemnation is the more remarkable when it is remembered that Chief Justice Taney is a Catholic, and that Mr. Brownson's *Review* has long been an ultra pro-slavery periodical.

THE CASE OF JUDGE LORING.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Monday last, Mr. Merrick, of Norfolk, from the Committee on Federal Relations to whom were referred the petitions for the removal of Judge Loring, submitted to the Senate, on the part of the majority of the Committee, a report, giving the petitioners leave to withdraw!!

This report is as destitute of any solid reasoning as Judge Loring is of a decent respect for the feelings and wishes of an overwhelming majority of the people of this Commonwealth, recorded in the form of statute law, adopted with special reference to his own case, and prohibiting the recurrence of any similar case hereafter. It is, throughout, superficial, technical, evasive; its paternity is easily traceable outside of the Committee to the hunkerish clique in Boston who assume to rule Massachusetts; and its adoption by the Legislature will cover that 'Republican' (?) body with ridicule and disgrace, and make it the laughing-stock as well as the tool of the Southern slave oligarchy.

Its evasive character is indicated in the statement, that, in the hearings before the Committee, in behalf of the petitioners, 'no facts were presented in regard to the official conduct of Mr. Loring in the Burns case, or any other case.' But the reason of this was given at the time to the Committee, or, rather, to such of them as had the fairness and courtesy to make their appearance. It was deemed wholly unnecessary to go into a repetition of facts familiar to every intelligent person in the Commonwealth; facts which had excited universal disgust and indignation, and which had led to the passage of the very law, under which the removal of Judge Loring is demanded, but which he defiantly puts beneath his feet in the most lawless manner. It is not true that 'no evidence whatever was adduced to show loss of public confidence, nor unfitness in any way for the office which he holds, except that he continued to hold and perform the office of U. S. Commissioner, in disregard to the section of the statute above cited'—though, living as he does in contumacious violation of a law of the State, it should have sufficed to exhibit his criminal persistence in office as conclusive ground for his immediate removal therefrom—unless, indeed, the laws of Massachusetts are to be nullified with insolent impunity whenever the slave-hunter seeks to desecrate our soil by his polluted feet, or whenever he needs to find some unprincipled tool here to help him consummate his nefarious purpose. 'This single issue,' as it is styled in the report, involves the dignity, intelligence, honor, and moral integrity of the Commonwealth; and it is of no consequence whether 'only a small number of the petitioners are inhabitants of Suffolk county, over which the jurisdiction of Judge Loring extends,' or whether 'the larger portion are of other counties, who adopt the same printed form of petition,' (why should they not?) it is all-sufficient even if they have 'no further interest in the matter than to effect a vindication of the public statute.' It is certainly a singular way of securing respect and obedience to the laws of the State for legislators to sneer at an effort to see those laws duly enforced in a most righteous manner!

The statute of 1855 is explicit and unescapable, until it be declared unconstitutional by competent authority. It provides that any judicial officer who shall continue to hold the office of U. S. commissioner for *ten days* after the passage of the act, shall be deemed to have furnished sufficient ground for impeachment, or for removal by address. Judge Loring has continued to act as commissioner for more than *two years* since the enactment of the statute; and he not only acknowledges the fact, but tells the Legislature and the people that he means to persist in disobeying the law. The reason he gives is, that, in his opinion, it is unconstitutional. But of what value or force is his opinion? Is he not an interested witness in the case, and therefore fairly precluded from testifying in his own favor? Does he mean to teach, that every individual in the State has a right to pronounce every law, adverse to his own judgment, unconstitutional, and to treat it accordingly? Has he not sworn to obey the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts? And if he cannot do so, either as a matter of self-respect or conscience, is it not imperatively his duty to retire from his present judicial position?

The law of 1855 was prospective, not an *ex post facto* law. It did not name Judge Loring, nor remove any man from office. But it prohibited, after a specified period, any person holding any judicial office under the Constitution or laws of this Commonwealth, and at the same time acting in the capacity of a U. S. commissioner. Such a prohibition (aside from all consideration of the legality of the Fugitive Slave Bill) it is certainly competent for the Legislature to make, for any reason satisfactory to itself; and every 'law-abiding' citizen will duly submit to it. The report assumes that if the statute of 1855 is to be construed as a mandatory upon Judge Loring to vacate his office of Judge of Probate, it is in violation of the constitutional tenure of his office, and then declares 'it was no offence in him to disregard such an unconstitutional mandate'! But when or where has the proper tribunal in this State pronounced this mandate unconstitutional? And what is it but lawless complicity to say that 'such disregard is no legal nor proper cause for his removal by address'?

The signers of this weak and incoherent report think it is a 'more than doubtful position' to urge that 'the Legislature ought to take this step as a vindication of its own authority, and to require a compliance with legislative injunctions'—that is, the proper function of that body is to pass laws as a pastime, and to allow its authority to be defied rather than respected, as in the case of this slave-catching, contumacious, rebellious Judge! They therefore, with all the gravity and wisdom of Dogberry in the play, while they do not ask for or recommend the repeal of the statute aforesaid, 'nor question the power and the right of this Legislature to vote an address for the removal of Judge Loring, *even if all the positions herein maintained are conceded*,' (thus stultifying themselves, and yielding up the whole ground,) recommend that the petitioners have leave to withdraw!

Now, this is an issue no more to be withdrawn or abandoned than was that presented to our fathers by the tax on tea or the passage of the Stamp Act. It involves the sovereignty of the State—the right of the people to determine, through their representatives, on what conditions State offices shall be held. It involves even more than this—the struggle for the deliverance of the land from the supremacy of the Slave Power, and the triumph of justice over a bloody despotism. Let this majority report be accepted by the Legislature, and tamely acquiesced in by the people, and 'border ruffianism' will hold a jubilee, and a yell of fiendish exultation will go up from every part of the blood-reeking South, and a fresh stimulus will be given to a ruthless oligarchy to consummate their scheme for the utter destruction of all our rights and liberties. But, let Judge Loring be removed from the office which he now pollutes—let the Legislature refuse to take any step backward, and resolve to execute the law now trampled under foot by this mercenary slave commissioner—let the people of Massachusetts be true to themselves in this sublime conflict—and the friends of freedom throughout the land will be filled with joy and hope, and the hosts of darkness go reeling to the earth.

The following are the names appended to this humiliating report:—

JOHN M. MERRICK, JOHN WELLS, RICHARD RAMSDELL, HENRY BRADLEY.

We give these names conspicuously, for the special observation of their constituents, and the public generally.

After the presentation of this report, Mr. Albee, the much-respected Senator from Middlesex, submitted a Minority Report, signed by himself and —— Ward, of Plymouth. It is clear, lucid, unanswerable in its reasoning, and commends itself alike to the understanding and heart of every true friend of freedom. The objections contained in the majority report are shown to be frivolous, while the reasons for the removal of Judge Loring are urged with irresistible force. The Supreme Court have never made any decision adverse to the constitutionality of the law of 1855. The Legislature of 1856 refused to alter or repeal the law, and thus recognized its binding character. Gov. Gardner has admitted its constitutionality, by appointing Commissioners under it. The courts have also acted under its provisions. It therefore should be respected by magistrates and citizens. 'The will of the people has been emphatically expressed, yet Judge Loring continues to defy public sentiment. By doing this, he has furnished sufficient ground for removal; otherwise, we abandon the accountability of public servants to the people.'

Notice is taken of a few points in Judge Loring's protests. In 1855 the Judge expressed great reverence for law, and declared that 'that security will be lost when magistrates shall shape their official action by their own or the popular feeling, instead of *standing laws*.' He laid it down as a principle, that 'magistrates do not make the laws, and it is not for them to usurp or infringe upon that high power.' He affirmed that at the time he was authorized to act as slave commissioner, 'he was not notified that the government of Massachusetts, or either the executive or legislative branch thereof, regarded the two offices as incompatible.'

From such language, the fair inference is, that if Judge Loring had been notified that the two offices were incompatible, he would have obeyed the notification.

Although the State did consider him notified by the spirit of liberty in her Constitution, and by her legislative acts and resolves, yet at the suggestion of the Judge himself, strengthened by the additional suggestions of Gov. Gardner, who declared that 'such a course is open for the legislature to adopt,' the legislature did by solemn enactment declare the two offices incompatible.

Two years and a month afterwards, Judge Loring is found to have reversed his position, and to have become a defier of law, and to have set at naught his own advice and repudiated his own principles.

To sustain this charge against the Judge, lengthy extracts are given from his two protests, and these are followed by comments. The minority conclude by recommending the passage of the accompanying address:

Address to His Excellency Henry J. Gardner, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The two branches of the Legislature, in General Court assembled, respectfully request that your Excellency would be pleased, by and with the advice of the Council, to remove Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk—for any one, or for all of the following reasons, to wit:

First—Because he consented to sit as United States Slave Commissioner, in defiance of the moral sentiment of Massachusetts, as expressed in the Legislative Resolutions of 1850.

Second—Because he prejudged the case of Anthony Burns, and drew the bill of sale of *the man* before he had publicly declared him to be a *chattel*.

Third—Because, whilst holding the office of Judge of Probate under the commission of Massachusetts, in defiance of the spirit of the Massachusetts law of 1843, he made a man a slave on the soil of Massachusetts.

Fourth—Because, setting aside the usual practice of Courts in Massachusetts, he suffered the alleged slave to sit manacled in open court.

Fifth—Because he permitted the claimant of Anthony Burns to change the ground of his claim, when he had failed to substantiate his claim on his first position.

Sixth—Because, disregarding the ordinary and established rules of evidence, he decided Anthony Burns to be a slave, which decision, in the words of Mr. Dana, 'was wrong on the law and the facts before him,' and when, in the words of another gentleman of the highest legal attainments, 'almost every step in the case appears to have been illegal and unconstitutional.'

Seventh—Because, in consequence of having done these things, he has lost the confidence of the people of this Commonwealth, as is shown from the thousands who petitioned for his removal in 1855—two thousand four hundred and thirty-nine of which petitioners were from the County of Suffolk, whilst only one thousand and twenty-four individuals from the whole State remonstrated against his removal.

And finally and more especially—Eighth—Because, now, in defiance of the provisions contained in Sec. 13 of Chap. 489 of the Acts of 1855, Edward Greeley Loring continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate, under a Massachusetts commission, and at the same time to hold, in defiance of law, a commission under the United States, which qualifies him to issue warrants and grant certificates under the Acts of Congress named in the 9th Sec. of Chap. 489 of the Acts of 1855.

The undersigned further recommend, that a Joint Special Committee, consisting of two on the part of the Senate and five on the part of the House, be appointed to present said Address to His Excellency Henry J. Gardner.

Let us have the yeas and nays on these two reports. Let us know who, of the Senators and Representatives, are disposed to give 'aid and comfort' to the enemies of constitutional freedom, and to contemn the wishes of the people of Massachusetts. We cannot yet believe that this Republican Legislature (with scarcely a Whig or a Democrat in it on the old party issues) will be so besotted or so cowardly as to adopt the majority report; and yet, in its sanguinary repeal of the law allowing one year to intervene before the infliction of the murderous death penalty—in its sneaking treatment of the political rights of the women of the Commonwealth—in its want of spirit, such as the times demand, in view of the insupportable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, and the avowed purpose of the slave oligarchy to make slavery lawful in every part of the country—we see little ground of encouragement. Already, the *Daily Advertiser*, the *Journal*, the *Transcript*, &c., are all still more or less controlled by a local aristocratic influence, and exerting themselves to secure the adoption of this report, 'that thus may be put at rest the useless agitation of a subject altogether foreign to the legitimate business of legislation'!! Let this city influence be promptly met by a commanding expression on the part of the country towns! Let the constituent keep a sharp eye upon his representative, and nerve him up (if necessary) to the performance of his duty! Let not ruffian Carolina exult over humbled Massachusetts! If we cannot save our dear native State to freedom, what else in the land can be saved? If we are too cowardly to vindicate our own rights, how shall we deliver those who are spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor?

'Gray Plymouth Rock hath yet a tongue, and Concord is not dumb,
And voices from our fathers' graves, and from the future come;
They call on us to stand our ground—they charge us still to be
Not only free from chains ourselves, but foremost to make free!'

RHODE ISLAND.

Our Rhode Island friends will notice the Call for their Annual Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held in the city of Providence on Saturday evening and Sunday next. At this eventful time, no friend of freedom should withhold the aid of his presence and co-operation. The meeting cannot fail to be a most interesting one. The country has no government through which the people can be heard, and it is time that the people everywhere should arise for the rescue of liberty, honor and manhood from the fatal grasp of the despots.

Significant. The Memphis Eagle and Inquirer says it is informed by a slaveholder of Tishemego county, Miss., that there are many persons in that county who are avowed anti-slavery men, and that some of them are in the habit of declaring that they are for a dissolution of the Union, 'for the simple reason that such a catastrophe will necessarily result in the abolition of that institution.'

SPEECH OF HON. GERRIT SMITH, ON THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

Last week a large and highly effective public meeting was held in the Capitol at Albany, with reference to the recent tyrannical decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, which was ably and eloquently addressed by Hon. Henry B. Stanton, Gen. Nye, and Hon. Gerrit Smith. Below we give that portion of Mr. Smith's speech which relates to the aforesaid decision, omitting his introductory remarks about the anti-slavery design and character of the U. S. Constitution, to which the American people have given the lie ever since its adoption, and which, therefore, are simply a waste of breath.

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I return from this examination of the Constitution to say, that the time for the great State of New York to strike a death-blow to the system of American slavery has come. In reply to the infamous judicial decision, which invites slavery to spread itself all over our State, let our Legislature say that never more shall a slave tread our soil—that never more shall a man within the jurisdiction of our State be anything else than a man. Quickly would all the Northern States follow this glorious lead. Aye, and the Southern States too would not be slow to follow it. For as soon as the South shall see us to be in earnest in this matter, and that we are determined to know no law for slavery, she will not only submit to the death of slavery, but will very soon after be glad to see it die—to see her infinitely worst enemy die.

But the timid legislator will say, 'We must not rebel.' I admit that we must not rebel against truth and law and honor. To rebel, however, against the Supreme Court of the United States and other servants of the above power, is but to rebel against rebels. For who are rebels, if it be not they who rebel against human nature, and class it with cattle? For who are rebels, if it be not they who fling the grossest insults into the face of God by reducing to mere merchandise the beings made in His own image? To treat man as vile is to treat his Maker as vile. Whoever thinks slavery the fit condition of man must have very low ideas not of man only, but of his Maker also.

Democratic legislators! Nothing better do I expect from you than that you will go on from worse to worse, until you shall have filled up the measure of your iniquity, and folly, and madness, and ruin. The infatuation of a Democrat is amazing. He continues to talk and vote against liberty; and he flatters himself that because he did so, years ago, without losing his hold on the public confidence, he can continue to do so with the same impunity. He sees not the change of circumstances. He is blind to the progress of things. He is entirely unaware of the changed attitude toward each other of liberty and slavery. He knows not but liberty is forever to keep on receding before slavery. He knows not that at last they are meeting in direct conflict and in a death-grapple with each other. That utter blindness and deep delusion, in which he fancies things are to remain as they were, remind me of the old milestone, dug up in the city of New York several years ago, on which was inscribed, 'Three miles to New York.' The city has grown up all around it. But the milestone was as unconscious of change as is the Democrat. The old Fogy still kept crying, 'Three miles to New York!' 'Three miles to New York!' Poor Democrat!—poor robber of a name, with which your every thought and word and deed is in the widest contrast!—you must perish. I fear that you have sinned away your day of grace. I fear that, like Esau, you can find no place of repentance, even though you seek it carefully with tears.

Republican legislator! I turn to you. Can you hesitate to vote for a Personal Liberty Bill, which shall know no slavery, and which shall protect every innocent man within the limits of your State? I trust you will not. The mission of the Republican party is either to abolish human slavery, and save the nation, and be the most useful, honored, and beloved political party that ever existed—or its mission is to make a little noise, do no good, disappoint the hopes entertained of it, and perish quickly and disgracefully.

I cannot take my seat until I have called your attention to the Report made a day or two since by the Joint Legislative Committee on the Dred Scott Decision. The Report is brave. The Resolutions which follow it are brave. The heading of the Act it recommends is brave. That heading is, 'An Act to Secure Freedom to all Persons in this State.' How well that sounds! What a pity, that such a promise to the ear should be so broken to the hope! How tame, how limping, is the Act itself! How immeasurably far below the tone of the proclamation falls the actual war!

What says the Act? Why, that a man may be a citizen of this State, notwithstanding he is black. Surely, this is no news. What man of common sense among us doubts that a black man may be such a citizen? Just as needless is it for the Act to say this, as it would be for it to say that a white man may be a citizen of our State. To enact that a white man may be a citizen would be to insult him. It seems little else than insulting to enact that a black may be. If you will only protect the person of the black man within your jurisdiction—if you will only protect him from the pursuit of the slaveholder, he will himself be able to take care of this matter of citizenship.

What next does the Act say? It says that if the slaveholder shall bring his slaves into this State, they they shall be free; and that if he shall hold or attempt to hold them as slaves, he shall be imprisoned. It was of very little consequence to declare this. We shall have no more power nor will to enforce this declaration than the ample power and will which we had before. Moreover, what would the slaveholder ordinarily care about being compelled to recognize as mere servants the slaves he brings here? He brings such as will return with him—such as have left dear ones behind them, for whom they would rather forfeit their personal liberty than forsake them.

So much the Act says. But what does it fail to say? Ah, it fails to say just the one thing which it should say; and compared with which, all it does say is utterly insignificant. It fails to say that the great State of New York shall no longer be a hunting-ground for human prey. It fails to say that the Government of the State shall extend its protection over the poor bruised and bleeding man, who has come up out of the hell of slavery to find mercy at its hands. Our Government boasts that its arms are open to every other man, who is flying from oppression. But this Act fails to say that this most oppressed of all men—this most cruelly wronged and deeply wretched of all men—may, after his scores of years of unrequited toil and lacerations of body and spirit, find rest upon our soil. This Act gives him up to the tender mercies of his worse than murderous pursuers.

What else does this Act fail to say? Why it fails to say that this State shall, at last, have a Government. For surely it can never be said to have one, so long as it shall not aim to protect every innocent person upon its soil. Is there a black baby anywhere within the limits of this State, that our government will not protect? Then it is not a government. I care not so much to have it protect the strong. They can protect themselves. I ask it to protect that black baby, or confess itself unworthy of the name of Government.

Can it be that a Republican Legislature will pass this Bill, which the Committee have recommended? Not for all this world would I vote for this Bill on which it is written, 'No pity, no justice, no humanity, no God.' Freedom is shrieking in the ears of this Legislature for help—and the proposed response is an endorsement of the lawfulness of slavery. Cruellest of all responses! We ask for bread, and a stone is to be given us!—for a fish, and behold the most venomous of serpents! Oh, it is infinitely better that you should be silent than that you should recognize the lawfulness of slavery, as this Bill by irresistible implication does. Not all the cunning, which characterizes the Bill, can hide that palpable, that damnable implication. I beseech you, if you will not help Liberty, do not harm her. If you will not heal her wounds, do not multiply them.

Pretty Bill this for Republicans to pass! A Bill which talks of 'master' and 'mistress'—a Bill which has to go down to the vocabulary of slavedom to find words in which to express itself! Pretty business for Republicans to be recognizing the most stupendous and atrocious form of piracy as law; and to be making the essential and everlasting rights of men to turn on the consent of slave-masters and slave-mistresses—on the consent of the pirates and piratesses! Oh for shame, Republicans!

But I have not quite done with this Bill. How shameless is its inconsistency with the accompanying Resolutions and Report! The Report, which I take pleasure in admitting contains a lucid, able, and sound argument, denounces the Supreme Court of the United States for its denial of citizenship to the black man. But on what ground does the Court deny it? Why, on the ground that the black man is but property, and has not the rights of manhood. And yet, forsooth, this very Bill, in its shrinking before the assumed lawfulness of slavery, admits the doctrine of property in man. I defend the logic of the Court; and I deny that there is any logic at all in the Committee. The Court and the Committee both admit that black men may be the subject of property. The Court logically infers that he hence cannot be a citizen of the United States. But the Committee, in total contempt of its own premises, and therefore in total defiance of all logic, maintains that he can be. Now, I insist that if the black man may, from his nature, be lawfully reduced to slavery, he can no more be a citizen of the United States—no, nor of this State—than can a horse.

I am quite sick of hearing men, who defer to slavery as law, denounce this Dred Scott Decision. It is only by praising the Decision, or by avowing themselves to be Abolitionists, that they can be entitled to a reputation for consistency—not to say honesty.

But the Committee will perhaps say, that the black man is property in Virginia, but not in New York. They are estopped by their Bill from saying so. Their Bill admits that the fugitive slave in New York is property, else why does it deny him protection? Altogether needless, gratuitously wicked, and without the least show of excuse, would be the denial, if they did not regard him as still property. But I affirm, that if a man is property anywhere, he is property everywhere. It is the nature of the thing, and not statutes or constitutions that determine whether it is property. We would not submit to have Virginia deny property in the oats and butter which our Northern farmers might take to her markets. They are property here; and therefore we would maintain that they are property there. On the other hand, if we admit that men are property in Virginia, then are we shamelessly inconsistent, when we deny that they are property here also. Then, too, are we guilty of injustice in refusing to do by her in the matter of her property, as we would compel her to do by us in the matter of our property.

There never was but one question in all this discussion about slavery, and that is the question whether man can be the subject of property. God be praised, that in the eyes of all of us, this discussion is fast coming to be narrowed down to this one question! God be praised for the mighty effect in this direction of the Dred Scott Decision!

The Democratic party is committing itself entirely to the position, that man can be the subject of property. Therefore must the Democratic party die—unless, indeed, the lights of civilization shall be blown out, and the progress of all moral and economical truth arrested, and the nation shall fall back into utter barbarism. Let the Republican party commit itself to this position, (and the Bill now before the Legislature calls on it to do so,) and it too will surely die. But the Republican party will do no such foolish, wicked thing. This Republican Legislature will not say, either impliedly or expressly, that man is property—that slavery is law. I know not what the lawyers in the Legislature may be disposed to say. In such a crisis as this, I am always distrustful of lawyers. In cases presenting the grandest and deepest questions of law—questions involving fundamental human rights—I find that lawyers are the last class of men to go to, to learn what is law. Lawyers can tell us the words of statutes and constitutions; but it is only here and there one of them, who can tell us what is the essence and the soul of law—only here and there one of them, who, like 'the judicious Hooker,' has found the seat of law to be in the bosom of God, and its voice to be the harmony of the worlds. Especially unfit for such a service is your lawyer who has spent a long life in mousing after precedents and fitting cases to Procrustean beds. He has so dwarfed his mind, and so shrivelled his soul, as to be incapable of entertaining the large and sublime idea of law. Depend upon it, that if there shall be any Republican votes, next week, against a sound Personal Liberty Bill, they will be chiefly the votes of lawyers. I cannot, whilst upon this topic, forbear to say that it is a great mistake to suppose, that to study law, we must, first of all, study law books. First of all, we must study our own nature. Far down in the depths of our own consciousness, is the place to go to learn what are the elements and fundamental principles of law. There shall we learn and love the right; and to learn and love the right is all one with learning and loving law.

Nor can I leave this topic of law, without adding, that no man has learned so much as the first letter in the alphabet of real law, who, knowing not that slavery is a mere pirate and outlaw, still believes that man is property, and slavery is law. Hence, poor Taney, although Chief Justice of the United States, knows less of true law than an unsophisticated boy twelve years old. For, in the first place, the boy is honest, and Taney is not; and whilst honesty is a great teacher of wisdom, dishonesty stultifies. In the second place, true law is an all-natural thing, and the boy discovers it because he is blest with an all-natural vision. But to the eye of such a miserable conventional creature as Taney, what is law but a bundle of conventionalisms, the most monstrous absurdities among which may, and, as we find in the late Decision, do, obtain his endorsement. The boy in question knows a man from a horse, but Taney confounds one with the other. Indeed, in a very essential respect, Taney knows less than a horse. For whilst the horse knows his own brother, and neighs after him, Taney does not know his, but mistakes him for a chattel.

In conclusion, I repeat that this Republican Legislature will pass no Personal Liberty Bill which will recognize the lawfulness of slavery. It will pass an honest, thorough one. But if I shall find myself mistaken, then will I be prepared to say to the Republican party, in much the words of Mordecai to Esther: 'If you fail at this time: if you are too unprincipled to meet the demands of this crisis: too cowardly to seize slavery by the throat, and strangle it—then shall their enlargement and deliverance arise from another place—but you and yours shall be destroyed. Then, I add, will another party come forward to take your place—a party that will suddenly grow into millions, and that will speedily do the work which you will have so basely refused to do.'

Gratifying Meetings. The meetings of the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society at Leominster, on Fast Day, and of the South Division Anti-Slavery Society at Worcester, on Sunday last, were exceedingly gratifying on the score of numbers, intelligence, and general interest. On Sunday evening, the beautiful and capacious Mechanics' Hall, at Worcester, (which has no equal that we have seen in the United States,) was crowded by a highly respectable assembly, on which occasion Mr. Phillips made one of his most stirring speeches.

WORCESTER COUNTY, SOUTH, ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Worcester on Sunday last, April 19. The forenoon and afternoon sessions were held at Horticultural Hall, and the evening session at the new Mechanics' Hall, and were well attended by large and interested audiences.

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Parker Pillsbury addressed the meetings with great eloquence and power, in the discussion of the following resolutions, which were presented by the Business Committee:—

Resolved, That as nothing is easier than conformity with the prevailing religion of the times, in all its requirements; so, while that religion is at peace with prevailing iniquity, and screens from condemnation every form of pollution, every conceivable crime and outrage, and the most terrific oppression, as embodied in the system of chattel slavery, no duty is more obvious than that of testifying against it as a deplorable cheat and a hollow mockery.

Resolved, That an experiment of two hundred years has demonstrated the fact, that any amount of sabbatical consecration, public worship, theological instruction, church extension, evangelical profession, reverence for the Bible, and revivals of religion, is compatible with the existence and constant enlargement of the bloodiest and most exacting despotism in the civilized world. Therefore,

Resolved, That any longer reliance upon such a religious faith and profession, and such religious machinery, to redeem our land or to break the yoke of the oppressed, is a delusion of the most fatal character.

Resolved, That the worship of God is not a matter of time or place, or public observation, but exclusively of the spirit; and that reverence for Christ is not indicated by any laudation of his character, or any verbal recognition of his equality in the godhead, but by boldly confronting a corrupt public sentiment, by unmasking a spurious religion, by flying to the deliverance of the most despised and outraged of our race, and by a joyful readiness to be made of no reputation for righteousness' sake.

Resolved, That as the American Church still continues to be in solemn league and covenant with the 'traffickers in slaves and the souls of men'; still stops her ears to the cries of the perishing bondmen; still withholds the Bible from four millions of souls in the land, while professing to receive it as the word of God, able to make those who read it wise unto salvation; she is still to be charged with the basest apostacy and the most shameless wickedness.

Resolved, That in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Tract and Bible Societies, the Methodist General Conferences, the American Baptist Unions, and the Presbyterian General Assemblies, we have a full and fair Exponent and Representative of the recognized religion of the country, and also the most powerful bulwark of American Slavery.

Resolved, That as all these Bodies are composed of denominations who claim the prerogative of making terms of communion and church fellowship, and as not one of them has ever included slaveholding among its conditions, even when expelling members for so slight an offence as difference of opinion on modes of water baptism, it becomes necessary, in fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, to declare, that no person who intelligently supports any of these great organizations, or the churches composing them, either by countenance or contributions, is worthy to be regarded as a Christian or an abolitionist.

Resolved, That we shall hail the day with hope and joy, when all these Associations, so long the strength of the tyrant and the curse of the oppressed, shall waste away, as have many like them in former ages; and thus leave a more open entrance for the coming of the reign of Peace and Purity, of Love and Liberty, in this as well as in all other lands.

Resolved, That while the armed invasion and bloody conquest of Kansas, by Southern 'border ruffians,' and the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in regard to the citizenship of the colored population of the country, are atrocities of the most fiendish character, and while no language of indignation and horror is too strong to be uttered in view of their perpetration, still, these are not excesses of the slave system, but its very nature and bent—effects of the same cause—fruits of the same poison-tree;—hence, to dwell upon these superadded crimes, and to leave the source of them untouched, nay, to keep it in full operation by constitutional protection, is not only a lamentable waste of time, but a gross moral absurdity.

Resolved, That the South has simply been true to her necessities—taking no unnecessary steps, resorting to no extraneous measures, seeking no superfluous safeguards, in order to give security to her slave system; that she could do no less, and will be continually constrained to do more and more in the same direction—trampling upon all agreements, guaranties and compacts, and making fresh aggressions upon the rights and liberties of the people of the North, until the very forms of republican government are overthrown, and a military dictatorship be established over the entire country.

Resolved, That it is only in and through the Union that the Slave Power finds its resources, obtains its conquests, accomplishes its designs, and drags the whole North at its chariot wheels; hence, to seek the immediate dissolution of that Union becomes the first, highest and holiest duty of every friend of freedom.

The following officers were chosen for the year ensuing, viz:

President—Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester.
Vice-Presidents—Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield; Moses Sawin, of Southboro'; Adin Ballou, of Milford; Abijah Allen, of Millbury; Clark Aldrich, of Upton; Moses Buffum, of Oxford.
Treasurer—Sarah E. Wall, of Worcester.
Auditor—Alfred Wyman, of Worcester.
Secretary—Joseph A. Howland, of Worcester.
Executive Committee—Abby Kelley Foster, Sarah H. Earle, Adaline H. Howland, John H. Crane, Seth Rogers, of Worcester; Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford; Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester; Daniel A. Comstock, of Millville; Nancy B. Hill, of Blackstone; Sylvester B. Fay, of Southboro'; William Doane, of Charlton.

The Finance Committee collected $112 in money, and $22 in pledges.

The meeting was, in all its aspects, one of the most interesting and successful ever held by this Society.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, *President*.
JOSEPH H. HOWLAND, *Secretary*.

LETTER FROM GEORGE W. STACY.

☞ The following letter, written with reference to the annual meeting at Worcester, will be read with interest.

MILFORD, April 18, 1857.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER:

Most gladly would I meet you and other honored friends, 'face to face,' and enjoy your deliberations and counsels; but an engagement on that day to preach in the name, and I could hope in the spirit of Christ, the great Emancipator, precludes this enjoyment. But my hearty God-speed you have, for the consummation we are all devoutly praying for.

The constant aggression of the damning Slave Power causes my blood to move faster; and my old and early anti-slavery feelings compel me to say—

'If we have whispered truth, let us whisper it no longer,
But speak as the tempest speaks, sterner and stronger.'

And the more of villification I hear poured out against our faithful pioneer and his unflinching advocates, the more do I honor him and his coadjutors. What an amount of affected piety and goodness is restrained upon the plea of saintly care not to mix with the *Garrisonians* and *infidels*! What precious saints will walk the earth when Garrison ceases his labors! If the slave does not cease to drag his chain, surely the millennium will have come. Imagine these boastful professors of discipleship to Christ standing in the unveiled presence of God, at the last rewarding day. When the demand is made—'Give an account of thy stewardship,' they answer—'Oh, Lord, we should have "remembered them in bonds as bound with them," had it not been for that Garrison! We are not to blame—we could not work with infidels.' What a pity the world should be deprived of such extra piety as this! And, believe me, this is about the English of the excuses I almost daily hear, when the claims of the suffering bondman are brought home to the conscience. No wonder that the Church is full of sad lamentation for God to revive his work. But will he remember the prayers of such false ones, who neglect the weightier matters, judgment and mercy? No—their fate is sealed—they must 'wonder and perish,' while even 'publicans and harlots enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

Now is the time to renew the battle. 'The last straw breaks the camel's back,' and has not the infamous Dred Scott decision the weight of such a straw? If we submit to all this,—and I fear we shall,—then is our condition base, cowardly and hopeless, unless we rally, as we must, for our last salvation—'No Union with Slaveholders!'

Yours for the war till death or victory,
GEO. W. STACY.

WORCESTER COUNTY, NORTH, A. S. SOCIETY.

Tha Annual Meeting of the Worcester County (North) Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Town Hall, at Leominster, on Fast Day, forenoon, afternoon, and evening—the President in the chair.

The following persons were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year:—Isaac Smith, Mrs. F. H. Drake, and N. Allen.

A finance committee, consisting of Addison Merrick, Joshua T. Everett, and F. H. Drake, was also appointed.

The committee on nominations reported the following persons as officers of the Society the ensuing year, which report was adopted:—

For President—Joel Smith, Leominster.
Vice-Presidents—Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; A. A. Bent, Gardner; Wm. G. Babcock, Harvard.
Secretary—D. M. Allen, Westminster.
Treasurer—George Miles, Westminster.
Directors—Benj. Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; Rev. Wm. P. Tilden, do.; F. H. Drake, Leominster; Sophia Ober Allen, Westminster; Elisha A. Merrick, Princeton; Margaret P. Snow, Fitchburg; Edmund Page, Leominster.

The meetings were addressed by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, Joshua T. Everett, J. M. Eveleth, and Rev. G. W. Babcock of Harvard, in a most earnest, impressive and eloquent manner—laying the axe to the root of the poisonous tree of slavery—enlightening the benighted, recalling the wandering, and strengthening the faint-hearted—and rendering the occasion one long to be remembered with profit and gladness.

JOEL SMITH, *President*.
D. M. ALLEN, *Sec'y*.

DIED—At East Hampton, (Ct.) on the 4th of April instant, JOHN SMITH HALL, in the 42d year of his age.

Another faithful friend of freedom has departed; a veteran in the moral warfare for the slave's deliverance has fallen in his harness, in the front rank, where he has, almost from his boyhood, been doing battle for the right. Though his field of action has not been a public one, nor his name widely known, yet his life, within the sphere assigned by Providence, has been active, earnest, and eminently useful. Of sterling integrity and clear understanding; a warm heart and amiable disposition; cheerful, frank and social; liberal in sentiment, independent in thought, charitable in judgment; remarkably true to his own convictions, and respecting a like fidelity in others of however widely differing opinions; in manners simple and unassuming; prompt in all good offices of social and domestic life, and ever ready to help the needy and relieve the suffering, irrespective of class, caste, color or condition; generous and cordial in hospitality; diligent and laborious in business, not from a sordid desire of gain, but from a love of activity, and a conscientious regard to the claims of duty; he was deservedly esteemed and respected by all who knew him, and warmly loved by those who knew him most intimately.

To his house the wayworn laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause and other enterprises of moral reform were ever welcomed with a heartiness which made them feel that they had found a brother and a home. With hand, heart and purse he aided their work, nor was his voice and personal influence ever wanting to its promotion when occasion offered; though standing almost alone in the region where he dwelt, it was often at the risk of social consideration, if not of pecuniary interest, that he held fast his integrity in this respect.

The cause of Non-Resistance had in him a firm adherent, whose fidelity had stood the test of 'spoiling of his goods' for conscience sake, by the administrators of the unrighteous militia laws of the State.

Belonging to no religious sect, he was a believer in that 'pure and undefiled religion' of which an apostle speaks, and with such measure of success endeavored to exemplify it in his life, that clergymen of the 'evangelical' faith have been heard to say that professors of their own creeds might do well to pattern after his practice.

While we mourn our loss and that of our cause, in his decease, and while we sympathize with his wife and little ones in their deep affliction, it is no mean consolation to know that he has so lived as to leave a name unsullied, and a memory which sorrowing affection can cherish with honest pride. B.

☞ MR. HALL was a subscriber to THE LIBERATOR for nearly twenty years, and one of the last acts of his life was to pay for two years' subscription in advance.—*Ed. Lib.*

PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Legislature of Massachusetts has taken the Dred Scott decision into consideration, and the following bill has been reported:—

'*Whereas*, The right of every sovereign and independent State to determine, by its own laws, the state and condition of all persons within its limits, and to prescribe the terms and principles upon which persons shall become and continue members or citizens thereof, belongs to each of the several States, except only so far as the right is limited by the Constitution of the United States.

'*Whereas*, in this respect, the only power "granted" to the United States is "to establish an uniform rule of naturalization," and the only restrictions upon the right of the States are those relating to persons charged with crime, and persons "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another;" and "all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively."

'*And whereas*, Doubts have recently been caused to arise in regard to the condition of a portion of the inhabitants of this Commonwealth, and their rights of citizenship, under the Constitution and laws of the State and of the United States.

'Now, therefore, to the end that doubts may be removed; that the rights and principles heretofore recognized in this Commonwealth may be reaffirmed and established, and that the condition of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth and their relation to the State may be clearly defined and declared,

'*Be it enacted*, Sec. 1. All persons mentioned in this section, and not excepted, are and shall be deemed to be citizens of this Commonwealth, owing allegiance to and entitled to receive the protection of the State as members thereof, until they shall have voluntarily withdrawn from the limits of the State, and become incorporated into some other State or sovereignty, as members thereof, to wit:

'First—Every person born within the limits of this Commonwealth; second—persons born without the limits of the Commonwealth, children of parents who are temporarily absent therefrom; third—all other persons being in, or coming into and locating within this Commonwealth, with intent to remain and reside permanently as citizens, *except* aliens, paupers, fugitives from justice and fugitives from service.

'Sec. 2. Slavery is forbidden, and cannot exist within this Commonwealth under the Constitution and laws thereof.

'Sec. 3. Any person having been held to service as a slave in any other State or country, and not having escaped from any other State of the United States in which he was "held to service or labor" "under the laws thereof," coming into this Commonwealth, or now being therein, shall forthwith be and become free.'

THE GERMANS ON THE DECISION. The following preamble and resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the German Association held at Detroit on the 26th inst.

Whereas, By the recent decision of the Supreme Court of this Republic, in the Dred Scott case, (according to which no State has the power of prohibiting slavery, and by which the theory of State rights, as far as it concerns the Northern States, is fully destroyed,) the rights and liberties, as guaranteed by the Constitution, are greatly endangered.

Whereas, This decision, which pronounces the members of the Ethiopian race incapable of human rights, is a sneer at the views of the founders of this Republic, about the inalienable rights of man, as laid down in the Declaration of Independence.

Whereas, It is our duty, as adopted citizens, to preserve the liberties and rights guarantied by the Constitution, and to resist every attempt to crush the same, as we are fully aware of the consequences that must drive the slaveholding party from the field of the slave question to the oppression of other nationalities. Therefore,

Resolved, That we admonish our German fellow-citizens not to endanger their liberties and rights by supporting the nominees of the Democratic party at the approaching judicial election. That we recommend to them the candidates of the anti-slavery or Republican party, and that we will use our best efforts to effect the election of the same.

SLAVERY IN WISCONSIN. The *Free Democrat* announces that a second levy has been made upon the property of Mr. S. M. Booth, for the balance of the judgment against him for the escape of Glover.

The Republican party and the people of Wisconsin are standing idly by, and letting the Slave Power rule the State, which will show to every *real* anti-slavery man that he must look somewhere else than to 'Republicanism' for freeing the country of slavery.

It is only a question of time. Mr. Booth will have to pay the judgment. The Slave Power *will win* in the money contest. The people do not care enough for the principles of Freedom to protect him. Mr. Booth committed a mistake in not bidding off the property at its value. At the next sale, he had better retrieve his error. He will have to pay the fine and costs. He will find no help for it. And there is no use in throwing away property.

There will never be any stop to this usurpation, till some State shall declare that *all* who breathe its air and tread its soil are, of right, *Freemen*, and that it will protect the freedom of *all* its inhabitants with all its strength and treasure. The time for revolution is at hand. It is as surely portending as time is coming.—*Elkhorn Independent.*

SCHOOL FOR AFRICAN GIRLS.—A meeting was held on Friday afternoon, at the Tremont Temple, to consider a proposition from the trustees of the Washington Association for the education of free colored youth. This association had its origin in a school kept by Miss M. Miner, at Washington, D. C., for free colored girls. The Rev. W. H. Beecher, of Reading, Mass, is the Secretary of the association, and he is now endeavoring to raise funds for the erection of a building, on an eligible site which has been already secured. The association proposes to raise $20,000 for the building. Of this sum about $8000 has been already secured. At the meeting yesterday, Mr. Beecher stated that there were nearly 500,000 free people of color in the United States, who as a general thing had no opportunities of procuring an education. This association proposes to educate girls, who as teachers distinctively, or as wives and mothers, may do something towards the enlightenment of the race. The school now numbers some 40 scholars, but it is intended to erect a building which shall accommodate 150 pupils. The present condition of the school is favorable, as appears from the testimony of Professors Felton and Horsford, who have visited it. After some discussion, it was resolved to draw up and circulate a paper containing facts relative to the school, after which Mr. Beecher will visit personally those who may be willing to aid in the enterprise.

ELEVEN YEARS A SLAVE.—We mentioned in the *Record* that James Henry, a colored man born in West Chester, had been kidnapped, sold as a slave, and remained in bondage, in Virginia, until he made his escape—a period of 11 years. Since our publication, Henry called at our office, and detailed a considerable portion of his experience. He is a light complexioned negro; and his father being a preacher, he was taught to read and write. He has a good address, and is fluent of tongue. In 1833, at 10 years of age, he entered the United States Navy, where he remained eight or ten years, and was discharged as a first class seaman, with a medal for good conduct. After being on shore for some time, he engaged as a seaman on board a vessel bound for the West Indies. The captain of his vessel, having sailed, anchored on the coast of Virginia, took him ashore in a boat, and telling him he would shortly be back, pushed off to the ship, and left him on shore. The captain did not return, and Henry soon found that he was claimed and treated as a slave; he was knocked down and ironed, and, in company with various other negroes, was marched to the South and sold. They travelled during night, from station to station, being in the day time confined in strong slavepens. He everywhere protested his freedom, but it received no attention; no man was found willing to befriend him, and he was doomed to bondage for years and years, until he could find the means of escape! How shall this man Henry obtain redress from those who have enslaved him, beat and mauled him, and insulted the majesty of Pennsylvania, who was bound to protect him or avenge his wrongs? How? Can any one answer? Had a slave from the South been claimed as a freeman, the country would have shaken from the centre to the circumference—as in the case of Dred Scott!—*West Chester (Pa.) Record.*

CAPT. RYNDERS AT THE SOUTH.—The Columbia (S. C.) *Times*, of the 9th, says: When it was first announced that the famous Capt. Rynders was appointed United States Marshal for the District of New York, we confess that the news did not affect us with remarkable pleasure. We were one of those who distrusted the captain on account of some of his antecedents, but if he will but perform what he promises, we declare ourselves his fast friend forever. Rynders is a 'jolly stout fellow,' and has pluck, and knows the rascals around him. He is just the man for the office. Suppose a fugitive from the South arrives within his bailiwick—Rynders will know it forthwith. The Underground Railroad is not deep enough to hide the dark doings of abolitionism from him. And having got the news, what will Rynders do? Why, he'll take the fugitive into custody, and all the powers of the blacks won't prevail against him. The knaves know this, and, therefore, are discontented with the appointment. We go in for Rynders.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA.—Under date of March 7, the Havana correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* reports:—

The slave trade is quite active now, and vessels are almost daily despatched for the coast of Africa. The brig Miller, formerly of your city, sailed hence on the 4th. She cleared at the custom-house for Montevideo, but every body saw her slave deck when she was being fitted up at Regla. We hear of landings all along the coast, and the fact is so notorious that every one begins to believe that certain parties, high in office, not excluding foreigners, have lent themselves to the scheme, and are in actual possession of nice sums for their complaisance. Sig. Lerranno, Governor of Trinidad, is reported to have realized over $200,000 within the last three months, for which he has been removed from office by Gen. Concha.

COTTON PRO-SLAVERY PAPER IN LONDON. — A Washington correspondent of the Charleston (S. C.) News, writes as follows:

A project is now on foot to start a State Rights Pro-Slavery Journal in London. Mr. Slocum, of Mississippi, has initiated this singular enterprise. The editor-to-be is Professor Alexander Dimitry, at present the translator in the State Department, a native of Louisiana, a man of rare accomplishments, and an unsurpassed linguist. The friends of the movement are sanguine of its success, and allege that it has already received sufficient encouragement to justify its commencement. They propose that it shall be a true representative of Southern sentiment at the English metropolis, and a defender of Southern rights, devoted to the idea of direct trade with the South, and appreciative of the cotton interest generally.

Southern Justice.—This is getting to be a farce. Witness the following, from a correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*. Even the *Journal* is getting its eyes open:—

'The result of the trial of Lee for the murder of Hume has created great surprise, not to say indignation. Judge Crawford has now twice so instructed the jurors, as in effect to encourage the use of deadly weapons, as means of defence against the commonest assault. Herbert, who killed a poor Irish waiter, and Lee, who killed a noble Virginia citizen, are now at large, while Judge Crawford sent a poor thief lately to the penitentiary for six years, on the ground of "fidelity to society at large."'

The Case of Passmore Williamson.—The action for damages brought against Judge Kane in the Court of Common Pleas, of Delaware County, was some time since argued upon demurrer. To the declaration claiming damages, Judge Kane put in five special pleas, setting forth his office, the proceedings which occurred, and justifying his entire conduct. The plaintiff replied *de injuria* to these pleas, that the defendant had committed the acts of his own will, and without cause. The judge's counsel demurred specially to the replication on three pleas, and joined issue in two of them. The argument in demurrer was held in December. On Saturday, Judge Haynes gave notice that he decided against Judge Kane, so that the replication stands, and the case will go to trial on the general issue, and will be tried some time during the present Summer.

☞ Walker's deserters who have arrived at New York, tell shocking stories of the sufferings of his men. From their accounts it would seem that the desertion has increased very much since the men learned from the proclamation of Gen. Canas, that they would not be shot at Costa Rica, but be well treated, and sent home. They deserted in squads and whole ranks, with their petty officers at their heads, when sent out on foraging expeditions. During 90 days, no less than 980 men disappeared, of whom at least 300 deserted. Of the mounted rangers, 27 went off in a body, and several conspiracies for large bodies to desert have been detected. One foraging party, numbering 65 men, deserted in a body.

Significant.—An exchange calls attention to the remarkable fact that every one of the men appointed to office in California by Mr. Buchanan, is a Southern man—not a single man from a free State is chosen, though more than half of the population of California is from the free States. These ten appointees have about three hundred subordinates to appoint, most of whom will be Southern men. Still further, eight of the ten have held office during the whole term of Pierce's administration. This looks as if the South had its eye upon Lower California. It always has its eye upon something; and its hand too—when it can.

☞ The clipper ship Great Republic, from New York, at San Francisco, was only 15 days and 18 hours from New York to the Equator, which is the shortest time on record. The Flying Cloud, and Helena, both crossed it when 17 days out. The G. R. was 46 days to Cape Horn, which she doubled with skysails set. Her topgallant sails were set the whole passage; and her best day's work was 413 miles—the greatest run ever made by any vessel—steamer or ship.

☞ The *Minerve*, a Roman Catholic organ at Montreal, has an article entreating subscription to the funds of a society for the Salvation of Infidels' Infants. It states that the agents of the society have baptized 326,388 infants, of whom 247,041 are already dead and gone to heaven. For twenty sous, according to the report of the missionaries, four children can be saved; for 1000 francs, 4000 children!

☞ It is said that 30,000 slaves were sold and removed from Virginia, last year, and that 2,000 more escaped.

☞ The *Chinese Herald* confirms the report, that the far famed porcelain tower at Nankin was destroyed in November, during a bloody massacre of some 5000 or 6000 Imperial troops by the insurgents, who had gained possession of the city by treason.

☞ The Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* says: 'Since Saturday last, March 21st, Mr. Sumner, United States Senator from Massachusetts, has been daily seen promenading our Boulevards, looking very well after his voyage across the ocean.'

Chicago, April 14.—A collision occurred at Milwaukee, on Friday, between two Deputy U. S. Marshals and the Sheriff of Milwaukee county, relative to the property of Mr. Booth, editor of the *Free Democrat*. No violence was used on either side, and the Sheriff retained the property. The affair is in continuance of the Garland Slave case, upon which there is a collision between the Federal and State Courts. Mr. Booth, it will be remembered, was convicted and fined, as well as imprisoned, for resisting the Fugitive Slave Law, by the former, and released by the latter.

An Alabama Quartette.—The Selma (Ala.) *Sentinel* states that a negro woman belonging to a Mr. Garner, living near Montevallo, Alabama, gave birth to four children (three girls and one boy) on the 28th ultimo. They are all living, and said to be thriving. The whole of them only weighed fifteen pounds.

Fire and Loss of Life.—A most destructive fire took place at Baltimore on Tuesday evening of last week, which was exceedingly destructive of human life as well as of property—13 dead bodies had been taken from the ruins, up to Thursday noon, and more are still missing.

An Impostor.—A colored man, calling himself Charles Traveller, is advertised as an impostor in the Erie *True American*. He lectured on a system of emigration, and was raising money to purchase a printing press. Several persons in Erie, who had given him testimonials, have publicly signified their conviction that they have been imposed upon.

☞ Henry J. Adams, Free State candidate, has been elected Mayor of Leavenworth over all other candidates.

☞ Eli Gifford, a half-breed, charged with killing John Ingalls, was hung on Saturday week by a mob in Jackson county, Iowa. On the same day, at Bellevue, Iowa, a mob freely entered the jail, and seizing a prisoner charged with murder, hung him.

☞ Preparations are making to send 1000 men from Charleston to the relief of Walker. Charleston and New Orleans contribute $5000.

The City of Buffalo Afloat!—Not a town of that name, but a new steamer—340 feet long; burden 2200 tons; cost $250,000—which was launched into the waters of Lake Erie, at Buffalo, last week. She is to ply between that city and Toledo.

☞ The St. Louis papers contain the inaugural address of the new Mayor of that city, in which he takes strong ground in favor of free white labor in the State of Missouri.

☞ The Legislature of New York finally adjourned on Saturday, at 10 1-2 o'clock. Previous to adjournment, the Dred Scott resolutions were passed, after being modified so as to imply that the confidence of the people in the Court of Appeals has been impaired, but not lost.

Anti-Slavery Excitement in Jamaica.—The inhabitants of Jamaica have got up a very respectable anti-slavery excitement. The Jamaica planters, finding that they cannot compete with the Cuban planters, attribute the cause to the slave trade between Africa and Cuba; whereupon they ask that the Government of Great Britain shall blockade the Cuban Coast, so that the African slave trade shall be suppressed.

Woman's Rights in the Ohio Legislature. — The House of Representatives of the Ohio Legislature has refused to pass the bill securing to married women an equal property rights with their husbands. The vote stood 44 to 44.

The Coolie Trade.—A late arrival from Cuba brings information that of 1,322 Coolies, comprising four cargoes, designed for that Island, four hundred and fifty, or more than *one-third* of the whole number, 'spoiled' on the passage; and that the total number arrived on the Island since April, 1855, is 10,534,—died on the voyage, 1,789. Of all the nefarious trades in which man ever engaged, the Coolie trade is among the most horribly revolting.

We must Resist.—The Columbus *Journal* in speaking of the encroachments of slavery remarks:

The district judges of the U. S. Courts in Illinois are playing the same game in that tate Sthat hey are playing in this; that is, disregarding the slave laws and courts. We learn that the slavocrats have again pounced on Mr. Booth of the *Free Democrat*, and we think with the Chicago *Democrat*, that it is about time to let the federal judiciary know that the States are sovereign on their own soil.

Dictation.—The four young men who compose the Divinity Class in Harvard University recently selected the Rev. Theodore Parker to preach the annual Class sermon. The Faculty of the College, displeased with this choice, resorted to a reserved power, given them by the fundamental law of the College, and vetoed the choice. The Class was of course obliged to recall the invitation. But three of the four protested against the dictation of the Faculty, and declined to select any other preacher than Mr. Parker.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed for that purpose, hereby give notice, that the FIFTH YEARLY MEETING OF THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA will convene in the Longwood meeting-house, Chester County, on the FIRST DAY, the 17th of Fifth month, 1857, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continue its sessions, probably, for three successive days.

The distinguishing peculiarity of this Religious Society is, that, not being founded upon a creed, it invites the co-operation of every friend of Truth, Humanity, and Progress, without regard to sectarian or theological distinctions. The rights of those who come into our assemblies are graduated by no difference of sex, nationality, or complexion. We have no order of priests or ministers, lifted above their brethren, to address us in a voice of authority, to define the boundaries of thought, and interpret for us the will of God. Free discussion has for us no terrors. We say with MILTON, 'Though all the winds of doctrine be let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously to doubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worst by a free and open encounter?'

We assemble ourselves together, from time to time, not to wrangle about the abstruse dogmas of a dry and sapless theology, but for the renewal of our spiritual strength, and to worship the SUPREME in the search for LIVING AND VITAL TRUTH; to inspire and promote the spirit of love and good will among mankind; to confront in a manly spirit the great moral issue of the time; to testify against every form of oppression and popular wickedness; to invigorate every noble and generous impulse, and every aspiration for purity and virtue; to speak words of encouragement, sympathy, and hope to the poor, the unfortunate, and the degraded, and to devise and execute plans for their relief. We accept, as expressing the spirit and purpose of our Association, these memorable words of HUMBOLDT: 'The one idea which history exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness, is the idea of HUMANITY—the noble endeavor to throw down all barriers erected between man by prejudice and one-sided views; and, by setting aside the distinctions of religion, country, and color, to treat the whole human race as one brotherhood, having one great object, the free development of our spiritual nature.'

To all whose hearts incline them to co-operate with us, in this spirit and for these objects, we extend a cordial and earnest invitation to meet with us at the time and place above named.

Joseph A. Dugdale,	*Ruhaney Way,*
Oliver Johnson,	*Thomas Garrett,*
H. M. Darlington,	*Isaac Mendenhall,*
William Bernard,	*Philena Heald,*
John G. Jackson,	*Ruth Dugdale,*
Lizzie McFarlan,	*Franklin Darlington,*
Hannah P. Hanway,	*Josiah Wilson,*
Dinah Mendenhall,	*Susanna Chambers,*
Sarah M. Bernard,	*Sarah A. Entriken,*
Rachel Wilson,	*Agnes Sanders.*

COMMUNICATIONS for the Meeting may be addressed to JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa., or to OLIVER JOHNSON, Anti-Slavery Office, New York.

LONGWOOD MEETING-HOUSE is one mile west of Hamorton, on the road leading to Kennett Square. Strangers are informed that a daily mail coach runs to the latter place from Wilmington, Del., passing directly by the meeting-house. The distance from Wilmington to Longwood is 13 miles. Between Philadelphia and Wilmington there is daily communication both by railroad and steamboat.

☞ RHODE ISLAND ANNUAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—The State Anti-Slavery Convention for 1857 will be held in PROVIDENCE, on Saturday evening and Sunday, the 25th and 26th of April. The meeting on Saturday evening will be held in RICHMOND HALL, (Howard Block,) and on Sunday in RAIL ROAD HALL, Exchange Place.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, SAMUEL MAY, JR., JOSEPH A. HOWLAND and others will address the meeting.

PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND! Rally to this Convention, and once more pledge an uncompromising hostility to American Slavery.

ASA FAIRBANKS,
A. R. JANES,
ELIZABETH CHASE,
GEO. JAMES ADAMS,
T. M. HATHAWAY,
R. I. State Anti-Slavery Committee.

☞ REV. CHARLES SPEAR will give his third lecture in the City Hall, Roxbury, next Sabbath evening. Subject: The Pardoning Power.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at WEYMOUTH, on Sunday, May 3.

☞ PLACE NEAR THE CITY WANTED.—A young colored man, accustomed to farm work, strong and healthy, wishes a place in the country, within ten miles of the city, or thereabouts. Application may be made at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

☞ GIVE HIM A CHANCE.—A colored young man of good family and character desires to learn the art of shoemaking. Any one who can afford such an opportunity will please address WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. A letter from S. M., Jr., to S. B. A., was sent to Fairfield a week since.
C. L. Remond.—What is his present P. O. address?

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

DESIRE.

BY BERNARD LEON.

Not for a wealth of gold
Wish I.
Gold hath the look of a loving friend,
And telleth of pleasure in store,
But it opens the door to the devil Greed,
And freezes the heart till it gives no heed
To the cry of the starving poor.
So not for a wealth of gold
Wish I.

Not for a pomp of power
Ask I.
Power hath a look like a very god,
And sitteth aloof in state;
But its pomp is naught but a giant lie,
And a demon brood sit ever by,
Envy, and Pride, and Hate.
And not for a joyless power
Ask I.

In sooth, 'tis all as one,
Say I.
I look on the palace, I look on the cot,
And the truth comes plain to me,
Joy dwelleth alike with the rich and poor,
And through all the earth there is never a door
But sorrow hath fitted a key.
And so 'tis all as one,
Say I.

And yet a greater thing
Crave I.
The lust of power, and the lust of gold,
Have filled the world with wrong;
Freedom is bound with the hopeless slave,
And Love lies down in the starveling's grave,
And the true is less than the strong.
So a yet greater thing
Crave I.

Ever for a strong, true heart
Pray I.
For the world will lie in its sorrow and shame,
Till the just shall live again;
And the heart grows weak with its work to do,
And is prone to lose faith in the good and the true,
When the weary toil seems vain.
God! for a strong, true heart
Pray I.

Then at my task again
Toil I.
For justice and right shall be conquerors yet;
Old error and wrong shall die;
And the God of truth shall new vigor impart
To the weary hand and the fainting heart,
As the hopeful years go by.
So at my task again
Toil I.

For the Liberator.

SLAVES, REJOICE!

Slaves, rejoice! the day is dawning
When your bonds shall riven be,
Ushering in the glorious morning
Of a perfect liberty.

Lift your heads, ye poor oppress'd ones,
Crushed by Slavery's whip and chain;
Mock'd, and scourg'd, and starv'd and branded—
Hope!—ye shall not hope in vain!

Know ye not Jehovah reigneth?
Naught shall thwart His mighty laws!
Know ye not that Freedom's champions
Are enlisted in your cause?

Men of loving hearts, and truthful,—
Men of genius, courage, might,
Sacrificing wealth and honor,
That they may secure the right;

Counting life of little value,
Heeding reputation not,
That they may the work accomplish
Of removing Slavery's blot.

Woman, always sympathizing
With the helpless and opprest,
With her brethren is united,
And their efforts will be blest,

Hasten, then, the happy period
When our nation shall be free,
And each one within its borders
Shout for God and liberty!

E. D. VALENTINE.

For the Liberator.

LILLIAN.

Our Lillian—oh, she was so fair,
With her bright blue eyes, and sunny hair
That fell in clustering ringlets, while
There ever beamed a joyous smile
When the dancing dimples played
Round the lips of rosy shade.
She was all life and gladness when
Flowers came in the sunny glen
Round her beautiful cottage home,
Dearer to her than a princely dome.
Though no marble column was there,
Nor sculptured forms of beauty rare,
Clustering wreaths of roses wound
Moss-grown wall and trellis round;
And while the fairy humming-bird
Blooming honeysuckles stirred,
Many a scented blossom drew
The bee to sip its honied dew;
When, as I said, the breath of Spring
Wakened to life each sleeping thing,
And earth was all so glad and bright,
In her eye was such beaming light,
Clouds on your brow would flit away,
In your soul it was also May.
Oh, 'tis a blessed thing to throw
A beam of light where'er you go,
And to live daily nearer God,
Scattering your joy abroad!
It was when the flowers were blooming,
Gorgeous in the autumn light,
Lillian in her brilliant beauty
Vanished from our earthly sight.

KATE.

A HYMN.

FOR THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Judges, who rule the world by laws,
Will ye despise the righteous cause?
When the oppressed before you stands,
Dare ye condemn the righteous poor,
And let rich sinners go secure,
While gold and greatness bribe your hands?

Have ye forgot, or never knew,
That God will judge the judges too?
High in the heavens His justice reigns.
Yet you invade the rights of God,
And send your bold decrees abroad,
To bind the conscience in your chains!

Th' Almighty thunders from the sky—
Their grandeur melts, their titles die—
They perish like dissolving frost;
As empty chaff, when whirlwinds rise,
Before the sweeping tempest flies,
So shall their hopes and names be lost.

Thus shall the vengeance of the Lord
Safety and joy to saints afford;
And all that hear shall join and say—
'Sure there's a God that rules on high—
A God that hears his children cry,
And will their sufferings well repay.'

DR. WATTS.

The Liberator.

TEMPERANCE REMINISCENCES.

Extract from the Diary of the late Hon. WILLIAM JACKSON, *of Newton, relative to his early Experience in the Temperance Reformation.*

In 1800, Oct. 6, at the age of 17, I left my father's house in Newton, and went to work at the soap and candle factory on Boston Neck, to learn that trade.

My deliverance from drinking ardent spirits was in this wise: In 1802, I was boarding with half a dozen young men, who were all the time full of life and fun. We had a bottle called a 'flaggon,' which held about a pint, and was encased in basket-work. There were a variety of occasions on which the bottle was filled with rum, gin or brandy, for an evening's entertainment, besides the 11 and 4 o'clock drams, which was then, and for more than thirty years afterwards, the universal custom to furnish for laboring men. Bets were often made among us, and were always for a flaggon of gin—which, it was said, was a sovereign remedy for a cold.

One night when, as usual, we had become quite jolly over our 'flaggon,' and when the last drop had been drained, a question arose among us for discussion, namely: Would it be possible for us to get through the evening, and realize anything like our usual share of comfort, without our flaggon? Being in an excited state of mind, and somewhat courageous, the discussion ended in the unanimous adoption of a resolution to abstain altogether from the use of ardent spirits (wine not included) for one month. We had not sufficient courage to make the prohibition absolute; any one was to have the right to relent, provided he would bring in, for the common use, a gallon of wine. Two or three of the party gave out, and paid the penalty. I conformed to the resolution with firmness and system. I procured a bottle of Malaga wine, and kept it in my chest, and when the grog time of day came, I took a little of the wine, and by that means carried myself through the month. That resolution, so hastily and accidentally made, could not be renewed again by anything like a majority. At the end of the month, I found my health had been much improved by abstaining from ardent spirits. I then, alone, resolved upon another month's abstinence, and with the same favorable result. I ever after continued to abstain; and that hasty and accidental resolution went with me through life.

At the end of my second month's trial, I had no desire to commence my grog again, but agreed with my employer to take 12½ cents a day as a substitute for my usual allowance of grog.

At the age of 22, I became the foreman of the factory, and hired all the hands that worked therein; upon the condition that no grog would be furnished to any one by the Company. I then tore down the old cupboard where the grog apparatus was kept, and threw away the toddy sticks.

In 1812, I assisted in the formation of the first Society in New England for the suppression of intemperance, of which the Hon. Samuel Dexter was President.

The principal object of that Society was the reformation of drunkards. It required no abstinence on the part of its members, most of whom were moderate drinkers; they were not then aware that they were on the road that led to drunkenness; their efforts were well meant, but soon proved a total failure.

In 1820, I removed from Boston to the ancient homestead of my ancestors in Newton, and became a farmer.

In 1826, I was chosen a Selectman, and made Chairman of the Board. It became my duty to understand and prepare the business which devolved upon the Board, among which was that of approbating those persons who desired to obtain a license from the Court of Sessions to sell ardent spirits.

That Court sent out, annually, a blank note to each town in the county, for its Selectmen to sign, and insert the names of those persons who were licensed the previous year to sell ardent spirits in the town; after which were the following printed words: 'The abovenamed persons, according to the best of our knowledge and belief, have conformed to the laws respecting licensing, and, in our opinion, the public good requires that they should again be licensed.' This was to be signed by the Selectmen.

Obviously, it was necessary that I should know what those laws were, and whether the applicants had conformed thereto, before I could sign such a declaration.

Upon examination, I found that they all habitually violated them. Accordingly, I erased the printed form, and inserted the following words: 'That they were all good men, and had conformed to the law as much as men elsewhere in the same calling; and that the public good required them to be licensed, and we accordingly recommended that they should be.'

The Court decided that it had no power to license any person who had not a certificate from the Selectmen that they had conformed to the law, and they accordingly refused to grant any licenses to the applicants from Newton.

This raised a storm against the Selectmen. I called a meeting of the Selectmen, to review their action; they were all disposed to have the applicants licensed, but were not disposed to certify to a falsehood to procure it. The Selectmen empowered me to go to the Court at Concord, and endeavor to procure licenses for the applicants, and agreed to sanction what I might do in the premises.

I employed counsel to go with me to the Court, and plead the cause between the applicants and the Selectmen. We had a full hearing before the Court, and the result was, 'That if the Selectmen would certify that the applicants had conformed to the law, it would grant the license; but the Court had no power to make the grant, unless the Selectmen would certify that the applicants had so conformed.' In plain English—unless the Selectmen would certify *to that as true* which they knew to be false, and which they had already told the Court was false, no license could be granted.

I was told by my counsel, and other respected advisers, that the whole thing was but a mere form, that such applications were signed by the best men in every town in the county, who knew as much about the violation of the law as I did. The rum-sellers taunted me with the fact, that my father (who they said was a much better man than myself, which I could not deny,) had many times signed such applications.

The Judge said that the Court had power to license without the approbation of the Selectmen, provided their approbation was unreasonably withheld; but, (continued the Judge,) there is nothing unreasonable in the action of the Selectmen in this case,—on the contrary, it is very unreasonable to expect them to sign such an approbation, if not true. Of course, I refused, and no person was licensed that year in Newton, and, of course, rum-sellers and rum-drinkers made war upon the Selectmen. The whole matter was freely and widely discussed, and probably became better understood by the inhabitants of Newton than in any other town in the Commonwealth.

The Selectmen were not only attacked by the rum-sellers and their friends in Newton, but had also to defend themselves in the newspapers; so that the friends of temperance became better acquainted with the subject, and with each other, than they had ever before been. They found the position they had taken was right; that the best interests of the community were being promoted by it; that no concession, or attempt to conciliate rum-sellers and topers, was of any effect, and that no position in relation to them was either consistent or safe, but that of open and manly resistance to their business, and the debasing habits it occasioned.

In October, 1826, I called a meeting at my house of all the temperance men I then knew in the town of Newton. There were but three present besides myself. We agreed to form a Temperance Society upon the basis of *total abstinence* from distilled spirits. I was appointed to prepare a Circular, to have four hundred copies printed on letter-paper, and a copy sent to every family in Newton. The circular stated our object, and the necessity of universal effort for arresting the progress of intemperance among us, with the Constitution under which we proposed to act, and inviting every one to join us. The first of January, 1827, was the time appointed to form a Society and choose officers. At this meeting, twenty-seven persons united with us; about half this number were minors, who were induced to join, partly, at least, by being furnished gratuitously with temperance papers, or having free access to a large library.

The opposition to our movement was very strong, unreasonable and overbearing. We had undertaken to rebuke nearly the whole community, of both sexes, and of all ages, for a habit which was ancient and universal among them. We were met with sneers, ridicule and condemnation everywhere, and from almost everybody, and at the next election, the Selectmen were all turned out of office. We had little else for our defence but a conviction that we were right; that the welfare of our families, and all around us, called for a manly defence, and an earnest adherence to our principles.

I soon became sensible that there was no other way but to stand firm against the storm, face it, and take an aggressive position. Accordingly, I prepared an address, and obtained Rev. Mr. Greenough's meeting-house; (he did not fully approve of our measures, nor believe in their success.) We had our Total Abstinence Society together, invited the whole town to meet us, and hear us speak for ourselves. I delivered a temperance address (the first I ever attempted in public) to a full house. At the close of the meeting, I invited all to join us, and succeeded in more than doubling our numbers. The whole town learned that we were not to be sneered out of our principles, nor brow-beaten into silence; but that the existence of a Total Abstinence Society in Newton was a fixed fact.

We held public meetings once a month, for the discussion of our principles and measures; we spread temperance tracts and papers freely; we procured a library of several hundred volumes, which was made free to all the members of the Society, and in less than one year and a half we had a majority of the Newton men and women, a majority of the voters either in our Society or sympathizing with us. Topers were ashamed, and rum-sellers dissatisfied with their business. The Selectmen who had been turned out of office by the rumsellers and drinkers were re-elected, and myself sent Representative to the Legislature.

It is especially interesting to my own mind to review the chain of events which, so far as I was personally concerned, grew out of this apparently accidental determination of the Selectmen in 1826 in withholding their approbation, upon the terms required by the rumsellers in Newton.

OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—For its fearless exposure of wickedness, in high and low places, I have always respected THE LIBERATOR, which I have read attentively for years. But in nothing have I been more gratified than the timely article, by C. K. WHIPPLE, in THE LIBERATOR of April 3, upon obscene literature and quackery—gratified, because the times demand such outspoken truths. If any one deserves a halter and a hanging, certainly those pseudo 'doctors,' who poison the body, and those who poison the youthful mind, richly merit execution. It is supposed by many, that the quacks are interested in getting up these books, in order to make more 'practice.' The only remedy for this wickedness is the diffusion of knowledge. Children are shockingly neglected by their parents and guardians in regard to moral training in season. Ignorance is no safeguard to virtue. When will people learn this? Now I like consistency. Every sensible person knows that these quacks never cure anybody. It is equally certain that the 'liver' and other pills, 'bitters,' 'cordials,' 'compound essences,' 'extracts,' 'mixtures,' and the thousand-and-one nostrums of the day, for the cure of all the ills which 'flesh is heir to,' are, if not equally injurious, (and we have no guarantee that they are not,) equally useless.

Now I think that paper which would act consistently should, with 'quack' advertisements, exclude *all* notices of humbug nostrums.

Another cause of depravity which ruins thousands, (probably ten where those open, professedly vile books do one,) is the circulation of stories of fiction of very questionable moral tendency, so freely published by almost all of our 'respectable' (?) prints.

As deserving utter extinction, I would class with bad literature, all 'quack' and 'regular' poison-and-death-dealing 'doctors,' and all nostrums, of however great pretensions. Our prints should cultivate virtue, and act consistently. Parents and guardians should instruct themselves, and their children and wards, early, in moral and physical law, as revealed by nature and common sense—not by 'regular' or other 'quacks.' And, lastly, the pills and other physics, itch ointments, &c., so freely prescribed by the quacks for others, should be thrown at and freely rubbed into those who traffic in them; and be assured that quackery (and very likely the quacks themselves) would soon die out.

Yours, for truth and progress in all things,

WM. J. S. C. ADAMS,
Charlestown, Mass.

COLORPHOBIA IN PROVIDENCE.

PROVIDENCE, April 14, 1857.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Colorphobia showed itself dominant, in our City Council, at their regular meeting last evening. Our School Committee consists of forty-one members; twenty-one of this number are chosen by the people to serve for three years—the other twenty are chosen by the City Council annually, to serve for one year. The City Council also are empowered to fill all vacancies that may happen by resignation or otherwise, whether from those chosen by themselves, or by the voters. The Rev. Mr. Ball, Free-Will Baptist, who was chosen one year ago by the voters of his ward, sent in his resignation, as he is soon to leave the city. The vacancy was filled for the coming two years by a man I presume utterly hostile to the opinion of Chief Justice Taney, that persons of color are not citizens, and as decidedly opposed to permitting the colored people to be educated in the same school with the whites!

The Council then proceeded to elect twenty members, to serve for one year. The names were reported by the Committee on Education. The first nineteen were elected without opposition; the Rev. Samuel Wolcott's name, (the last on the list,) purposely placed there, no doubt, by the Committees, to keep matters quiet until the first nineteen should be disposed of, when he (Mr. Wolcott) was objected to by Councilman Greene of Second Ward, on the ground that he was in favor of abolishing the colored schools, which he thought was very wrong, and nominated C. A. Hall in opposition. Councilman Doyle of the Fifth Ward was of the same opinion—thought no man ought to be on the School Committee that held such views; it would be a serious damage to our public schools to admit the colored children to do as they do in Boston, and other cities and towns in the Old Bay State.

Councilman Lester, (Democrat,) of the Sixth Ward, wanted Black Republicans to be consistent with themselves. He was in favor of choosing the Rev. Mr. Wolcott; he had served on the School Committee a number of years, was a highly respectable man, and well qualified for the office.

A ballot was called for. Whole number of votes, 33; necessary to a choice, 17. C. A. Hall had 25, Mr. Wolcott 8. Mr. Hall was declared chosen by three against one. Well—our City Council are *all Americans and Republicans* but three or four, and strongly condemn the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in not recognizing colored people as citizens. How much better men at heart are they than Chief Justice Taney? But most of our City Council are young men, and I have little doubt that if they live a few years longer, they will not be at all proud of having this record referred to, and will one day wish it were obliterated.

This question was brought before our General Assembly the past winter, and postponed to the next session. It was a long and hard-fought battle in your State, and triumphantly carried through two years ago. How long the contest will last in Rhode Island, we cannot tell. All friends of humanity are glad to see a beginning, and that it will not be suffered to rest until the right prevails, may Heaven grant it. What a small amount of vital principle is to be found among the people of our own New England! When the question of 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' is brought home to our very doors, how few do we find who are able to stand the test against the prejudice of the age! The colored children must be an exception. To the shame of the city of Providence be it spoken. But it cannot always be so, from the fact that God lives.

A. FAIRBANKS.

From the New York Messenger.

LYCEUM LECTURERS.

We have had not a little to do in getting lecturers for literary institutes. And we have come to one conclusion, with regard to our selections in future, that we shall scarcely be tempted to break over. The conclusion is, to ask no man to lecture, who does not come with first-class testimonials as a lecturer. It won't work with us for his commenders to say of a lecturer, 'Why, he's the Hon. Mr. So-and-So; he has been Governor and Senator, and all that.' We shall answer, that a man may be an excellent executive man, and a very efficient legislator, and yet no lecturer. No one can have a higher opinion of the present Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, as a presiding officer of a legislative assembly, than we have; but may we be forefended from hearing him a third time as a lyceum lecturer! It is not his *forte*. And we pay too much when we pay fifty cents and an evening's patience to hear him talk in a position from which nature meant to exclude him. Daniel Webster was certainly a very great orator. But we have heard, and believe it, that he made a very dull lecturer. We don't believe we have lost anything in not having heard Col. Benton in his efforts in the same direction. Legislative orators must, of necessity, be argumentative and exhaustive, not brilliantly suggestive men. They handle ponderous subjects in a ponderous way. They take up two or three points of a subject, and reason upon them. And whatever of piquancy and effect their speeches have, arises usually from antagonism, practical tendency, and immediate applicability to business matters. A lyceum lecture, on the other hand, should have argument, indeed, but in a most condensed form—should be crowded with brilliant facts and suggestions, to be argued out in the future. Such we take to be the difference between the lyceum lecturer and the legislative orator. And we should say, that for the reasons given above, that the fact that a man is an able legislator, should be an *a priori* argument against his being a good lecturer. The clerical calling would be more likely to afford good lecturers than the legislative. And yet a man may be a very good clergyman, and not a good lecturer. Appeals to feeling and sensibility are a desideratum in the pulpit, but are not wanted in the lyceum desk—at least, to anything like the extent they are wished in the church. Literary men are not, of necessity, good lecturers. Our neighbor Greeley, of the *Tribune*, stands very high as a literary man, but those who have, for this reason, sent for him as a lecturer, have usually been anything but gratified by his exercitations in that capacity. Mr. Sims is a good novelist, but his lectures have the reputation of being dull.

The characteristics of a good lecturer should be—first, *suggestiveness*. This is a most captivating quality. A mind full of new and sparkling thoughts is charming forever. It is this characteristic which gives such a perennial freshness to the essays of Bacon and the conversations of Napoleon. But it is usually fatal to legislators, unless they have the extraordinary faculties of a Napoleon. We, for instance, never think of turning to the speeches of Fox, or Henry, or Clay, for study; because there is no suggestiveness in them. And yet these great men were splendid ornaments of Parliaments and Congresses. While, on the other hand, Giles, Phillips and Emerson, lecturers of the very first class, are men whose minds are perfect Asiatic gardens in fruitfulness; but probably not many men in the country would feel particularly pleased to see their legislation intrusted to such hands. The second characteristic should be *practicality*. And by this we mean clear, distinct propositions of something to be done or thought, either materially or mentally, socially or ecclesiastically. Too many of our lyceum lecturers fail here. Some deliver poems. And poems, in lyceums, do not generally work well.—Some give descriptive essays, and a certain portion of this latter lecturing will do. But either the spirit of the age or the spirit of the institution causes the lyceum audience to delight wondrously in clear, analytic propositions, by which to judge of works or to do them. Whipple is remarkable for his analytic enunciations; Beecher is a man of uncommon practical tendencies; and Willard called forth bursts of unparalleled admiration from very severe judges by his rich suggestions on the practical theme of Education. Earnestness is another characteristic that had best be found in the lecturer. You feel that Parker is terribly in earnest on even the most non-committal themes; and therefore men never tire of hearing him. Emerson's delightful *bonhommie* saves him in this matter. But we all feel that the danger of the lyceum lecturer is, that he will be too much of the cold student.

Of course, every man who pretends to speak in public should have certain physical and mechanical qualifications. A goodly quantity of oratorical gifts, fine taste rhetorically, and broad if not thorough reading. If more of them would speak without manuscripts, we should be glad. We would excuse some bad grammar, some repeated words, and some involved sentences, for the sake of the freedom and ease of extemporaneous delivery. But we will take the good lecture with the manuscript, rather than have no good lecture at all.

Lecturing is, in fact, a distinct business. Some men have a peculiar aptitude for it, as some have for law, some for ship-building, and some for trade. And the lyceum that wishes to succeed must seek for lecturers as lecturers, not as celebrities of any other kind. But how shall we know the *real lecturer?* Take the man, say we, who can produce the proper testimonials. Parker, Beecher, Bellows and Mann, established their reputations by speaking on moral and social themes of the day. Whipple and Emerson were chosen as lecturers at first, because of their literary capacity. It was not a sure criterion, but their success justified the choice. Willard gained his foothold by the extraordinary commendations of a number of eminent men. Choose a lecturer, therefore, say we, as you choose your lawyer or your blacksmith; not because he has done well in some other capacity, not because he is of your party in politics or religion, but because he is good as a lecturer, let his religion, his politics, or his social theories be what they may. And when you see a new name in the newspaper, ask for the authority that commends him. If Francis Vinton or George Ripley recommend a man, you know their judgment is reliable, and that they have a reputation for honest dealing to maintain. And in this thing be honest yourself. Never recommend a man merely through a spirit of courtesy or friendship. You may cheat a few lyceums at first, but you cheat him eventually. He must be mortified by rejections, after a time.

ATHEISTICAL TESTIMONY.

The Boston correspondent of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, in a recent letter, says:—

'Another matter that the Legislature has been considering has been the admission of all sorts of persons to be competent witnesses—even Atheists—their opinions going to their credibility to the jury, and not their competency. This has been furiously resisted by the pietism and bigotry of the State as an assault on Christianity, and an attack on the foundations of society. And yet a more commonsensical proposition was never suggested, and the only sin and shame in the case lies in its not having been made long ago, or rather in its having ever had any occasion to be made at all. The sanction of an oath is two-fold—one belonging to this world, and the other to the next. Now, I submit that the fear of the penitentiary is enough to keep unbelievers from telling lies in the witness-box, without the additional apprehension of the penal fires of the world to come, which may control the wickedness of the faithful. But it is notorious that the word of men called infidels is regarded as just as good as that of the best minister or church-member, in the daily business of life—and better in multitudes of cases. In fact, a professing infidel must have a strong regard for truth, or he would make no such profession at all. Multitudes of real unbelievers go to church every Sunday, whose oaths are received without objection because they keep it to themselves. As Atheism, or Infidelity of any kind, is by no means popular, and nobody would ever think of avowing either, unless it expressed his honest, however mistaken opinions, the inference is strong in favor of his personal integrity and truthfulness. At any rate, a jury is perfectly competent to decide in each particular case, and it is a simple shutting the courts to witnesses, essential to the administration of justice, to close the doors against anybody that has anything to tell about any matter in question. And very great injustice has actually been done through this state of the law.

'Now my notion is, that if any class of persons should be shut out of the courts, and forbidden to testify because of their opinions, it should not be the open and out-spoken Infidels. It should be those who make Christianity the cloak of the blackest crimes, and who set the law of man above that of God. All Doctors of Divinity who preached slave-catching sermons, five or six years ago, in which they told their hearers that it was their religious duty to obey a law of Congress rather than a law of God, when they come in conflict, should be rigorously kept out of the witness-box, if anybody is to be. All ministers and professors who take South-side Views of Christianity, all who hold that God made one portion of his children for the express purpose of being the beasts of burden of another portion, all holy confessors who would consent to the martyrdom of their mothers rather than slavery should be molested, all Castle-Gardenites and Faneuil Hall Union-savers—these are the men whose testimony should be pronounced fishy by the law, if there is to be any invidious distinctions at all. Why should not men who are left to believe a lie, (or at least to make-believe that they do,) why should not they tell one, too? Such men have no perception of the fundamental principles of common morality, and why should they be believed in court, if opinions are to exclude anybody? I would have the character of such men as Dr. Adams or of Dr. Dewey, for example, affect the credibility of their testimony, just as I would that of Abner Kneeland or of Thomas Paine, and not their competency. I trust that remnant of barbarism and obstruction of justice will be very speedily put out of the way, here and everywhere.

ATHEISTS, AFFIRMATION, OATH. The Massachusetts Legislature have passed a law, requiring the courts to admit the testimony of Atheists. These very skeptical brethren are to be allowed to *affirm*, like the Quakers and others, and thereupon considered competent witnesses. Their *credibility* may be called in question, but not their *competency*. Very well! That is as it should be. A known liar *out* of Court ought not to be believed *in* Court, whether called an Atheist, Deist, Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan. But a man of *truth* ought to be and will be believed, no matter what he may be called by religionists. We want the *truth*—not mere names, forms and shams.

Now that a wedge has been entered, why will not some leading legislative mind move for the utter abolition of that barbaric, anti-Christian, liar-breeding, absurd institution, *oath-taking?* It has become a stench in the nostrils of human progress—a mockery of true solemnity—a sinful mummery! Require men to speak the truth every where, and at all times. If they can be convicted of falsehood, let them be dealt with accordingly. Require them to make restitution whensoever their false testimony damages any one, and record them *liars* till they give good evidence of having become truthful. Away with oaths! Let that long-disregarded injunction of Christ be respected, viz., '*Swear not at all.*' It will prove to be as good moral philosophy and political expediency, as it is divinely revealed righteousness.—*Practical Christian.*

HORRORS OF THE CHINESE WAR. A correspondent of the N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, writing from China, furnishes the following details of the war in that country:—

'All foreign business is not only suspended, but entirely at an end, both at Hong Kong and at Canton. The greater part of the western suburbs of the latter city, in which were situated nearly all the warehouses, shops, &c., concerned in foreign trade, have been consumed. The Chinese compute their losses in houses, go-downs, shops, &c., at over 4000 buildings—up to the present time; and in merchandise, and the value of the above property, they state their losses at $10,000,000—which is probably not far from the truth.

We cannot, of course, know very accurately the damage sustained by the city of Canton, since the bombardment began, 25th October; but as it has been kept up with more or less pertinacity, to within a few days ago, when the English Admiral retired with his forces from before the city, it is fair to suppose that the Chinese do not over-estimate the loss of life, when they state it at 70,000—of all ages and sexes. Everything favors this calculation, as it is well known that the streets are exceedingly narrow, the population of great density, the means or the power to move within the reach of comparatively few; while the custom of closing the gates of *every street*, during a period of public danger, creates immense loss of life, by any sudden movement of the populace. To say nothing of all the other distresses which have been riveted upon them, and which are inseparable from such a condition of things, the total destruction of the trade of the place, the interruption to all the daily avocations of the people, &c., are very oppressive in their effects. Still, up to the present moment, the Chinese do not make the *slightest concession.*'

EXTRAORDINARY TRIAL OF STRENGTH. The Troy *Times* of the 6th inst. recounts a singular trial of strength, which took place in that city on Saturday evening, between James Madison, 'the cast-iron man,' and Prof. Carl, the 'strongest man in America.' The challenge for a trial of strength sent by Carl, having been accepted, a large assembly witnessed the performance.

'Previous to the trial, Prof. Carl gave an exhibition of magic and ventriloquism, performed his celebrated guitar and drum solos, balanced sixteen chairs upon his chin, and performed other feats calling for an exercise of strength, which must have wearied him somewhat. Mr. Madison then appeared—held an anvil weighing 214 pounds upon his breast, while two men struck upon it with sledges; held an anvil upon each knee; broke a number of stones with his fist; bent an iron bar one-quarter of an inch thick by striking it over his arm; and held an anvil weighing about 200 pounds upon each arm, while men struck upon it with sledges. Prof. Carl then appeared, held the anvil upon his breast; bent the bar of iron almost double upon his arm; held the anvils upon his arms, etc., for a longer period than Mr. Madison had done. He then took the large flint-stones which had been rejected by his rival, and hammered them to pieces, signalizing his performance by cracking in two a flag-stone about large enough to serve as a stepping-block for a door. After this he held one of the heavy anvils over his head for 41 seconds; lifted a sixty-pound weight upon his little finger, and swung it around his head, and held two men on his hair while he whirled them about, top-fashion, until their feet struck out at an angle of 45 degrees.

Mr. Madison was then called out by the audience, and requested to give an account of himself. He excused himself in the matter of the stones, by saying that his rival was in constant practice, while he had not broken a stone for a year. Being urged to swing the weight about his head, he declined to do it, on the score of inability, and as Prof. Carl had not held the anvils on his knee. In short, he virtually acknowledged himself a whipped man.'

[☞ Such a trial of strength is equally foolish and dangerous.]

☞ Prof. Monroe calculates that there are 50,000 colored population in Ohio, and that they own six millions dollars' worth of property, on which they pay annually six hundred thousand dollars taxes.